

SATURDAY REVIEW

OF

POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

No. 738, Vol. 28.

December 18, 1869.

PAPER 6d.
STAMPED 7d.

IRELAND.

THERE can be no doubt that the situation in Ireland is growing every day more dangerous. New symptoms of evil show themselves, and the old symptoms seem to become more intense and ubiquitous. The Government has chosen its course, which is to ask for no new means of legal repression, to abstain from prosecutions, and to strive to keep the peace by a large increase of the military force. The Executive Government has materials for forming a right judgment which so far surpass in value and quantity any accessible to private men that we do not venture to say that the course the Ministry has taken is not the right one. But the dangers to be encountered are of a very serious kind, and are such that a military force can only very partially cope with them. Sporadic crime becomes daily more frequent. Men of innocent, harmless lives are daily murdered or mutilated, farmers are ordered at the dictation of secret societies not to pay rents or surrender their holdings. The priests either stimulate to violence or have no power of restraining from violence, and gunshops are rifled in the capital in open day without the police being able even to suspect the criminals. But these things, bad as they are, are very far from being the worst things we have to lament. Violence may possibly be met by increased military force and increased measures of precaution. But general disaffection is much more hard to grapple with; and it is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that disaffection is spreading, and is assuming shapes which make it very hard to combat. The agitation for tenant-right is entering on a new phase, and so is the resistance which it provokes. The aim of erecting Ireland into a separate nation, ruled by a local government, and only under a very nominal subjection to the Crown of England, has suddenly been recognised as the true aim of Irishmen; and a distinct challenge to the Government to use force if it dares has been given by the mischievous and turbulent Protestantism of Ulster. To-day will be a most critical day in the history of Ireland. The Apprentices, as they call themselves, of Derry have announced that they will disregard the prohibition of the magistrates, and form a procession, with the crimson flag of Derry flying over their gallant heads, to commemorate the old triumph of Protestantism in their city. The authorities appear to consider that they have no legal power to forbid the procession, but they forbid the flag. The Apprentices reply that it shall be carried, and that, if the police or the military interfere, the inevitable consequences must lie at the door of the Government which ventures to think it can trample Protestantism under foot. Apprentices, like other people, are very bold beforehand, but they may change their opinion when they see an actual display of overpowering military force. But even if on this occasion better counsels prevail at the last moment, there is little hope that the excitement which at present fills the Apprentices, and the large, active, and intelligent population that thinks with them, will soon die out. It may be necessary to forbid all these party processions in Ireland, these meetings of thousands to drill, these gatherings to honour as martyrs the successors of rebels whom England has made to pay the last penalty of rebellion. If so, we shall be entering on a new phase of exceptional legislation for Ireland. Even if the Ministry shrinks from applying to Parliament for special means to coerce turbulence in Ireland, the state of Irish feeling which is growing up is enough to alarm every one. The Catholics of Ulster naturally wish to see the Apprentice Boys of Derry shot by a Saxon Government, as they are not allowed to shoot them themselves, and they call loudly for severity and firmness, and demand that the procession with the crimson flag shall be sternly put down. But the Fenians and Catholics of the South see in these Apprentices, not enemies, but allies. They invite the men of Ulster to observe that they are oppressed and harassed simply because there is not a national Government in Ireland. If that happy consummation were arrived at, there would be

no alien Executive with its odious military tyranny to thwart Irishmen in their natural desire to parade streets, insult each other, and fight it out in a comfortable and patriotic manner. Evidently the Orangemen are only too well inclined to lend a ready ear to these tempters. The priests, although unwilling to countenance insurrection, too openly announce that they cannot retire into the sanctuary until the Irish have everything their own way; and it may very soon happen that the only advocates of the Union with England will be the great landowners, and especially the landowners who are great enough to live away, and keep agents to be shot at.

It may almost be said that at some of the tenant-right meetings that are now held, tenant-right is forgotten. Mr. BUTT has this week presided at a Tenant League meeting held at Dublin, and after apologizing for having once been willing to accept on behalf of the tenants the paltry concession of a general system of leases at the actual rents for sixty years, he proceeded to explain what is the rectified programme on which, now that his judgment is more mature, he recommends his countrymen to insist. He is willing to accept for the moment from the English Parliament a Land Bill which would give the tenants in perpetuity their holdings at the present rent, but he distinctly announces that this must be looked on as preliminary to the legislative independence of Ireland. He thinks that every man of his party should be guided in his conduct in every action of political life by a reference to the day when their independence will be demanded by the Irish people. The meeting, upon this, under his guidance, adopted a resolution to the effect that the Land Bill of next Session must secure the labourer a share in the advantages of the measure. The tenant-farmers and the labourers are in some undefined way to divide the land between them. The alleged reason for this demand is that the Land Bill is to be looked on as a restoration made in penitence for ancient and continued wrongdoing by the spoilers of Ireland. All Irishmen, therefore, ought to share in the compensation thus offered by England. If the compensation is not given amply enough and quickly enough, then Mr. BUTT considers something like open rebellion inevitable. He affects to lament this unavoidable calamity. He would think it his duty to endeavour to restrain the people from resorting to disastrous excesses, but he evidently has not much hope of succeeding. The language of all the advanced Irish is that England must restore the Irish land to the Irish, under the threat of being made to do it if she declines to do it peaceably; and that when she has done this service, she will be invited, under a similar threat, to clear out of Ireland altogether and leave the Irish to themselves. The only question is whether the more impatient spirits will be content to make two bites at a cherry. Why, they ask, if England is going to leave Ireland to itself, should it not begin at once? The Irish could pass an admirable Land Bill for themselves, without troubling the English Parliament to waste its time in discussing a measure it does not understand. We observe that at a Poor Law Board in Dublin, the Guardians almost unanimously passed a resolution that nothing but a national Parliament would do for Ireland; that absenteeism was the great curse of the country, and that an Irish Parliament would soon cure the mischief by taxing absentees until they could not afford to hold their land. The mover and the seconder of this resolution were Conservatives, and thus we have the curious feature of Dublin Conservatives of a most respectable type actually going in for a Repeal of the Union as the only remedy for the miseries of Ireland. Men like the Duke of ABERCORN of course take a wholly different line. They denounce the Land Bill of the Government, before they know any of its contents, as the work of Ultramontanes. They are for the use of any amount of force that may be necessary to put down disaffection. They deplore the evil results of conceding to disaffection which have followed the passing of the Church Bill, and they are

utterly opposed to any further concessions whatever. They say that resistance to Irish clamour must cease some time, and that it will be wisest to begin at once. That they should say so is only what was to be expected; but what is new is that they are beginning to stand alone, and that the Orange population, the Conservatives of the middle class, the popular leaders who are still loyal, the priests and the Fenians, are all working towards the same end, and that end is independence of the English Parliament.

All this may be, and we trust is, a mere momentary fit of pique, excitement, and vapouring. But the embarrassment which it will create as long as it lasts is very serious. The present Ministry came into office announcing that it was going to govern Ireland according to Irish ideas. Ireland is now taking the trouble to inform us what Irish ideas are, and to explain that the chief of these ideas is to have a national Legislature. It will be difficult, if all except the great landowners, many of whom are absentee Englishmen, join in saying that this is the chief Irish idea, to reply that it is not. We did not listen to the Duke of ABERCORN when he said that the abolition of the Established Church was not an Irish idea, and we can scarcely look to him and to those in the same position for guidance as to what are the real ideas of Ireland. If, then, the present Ministry is, as is to be assumed, resolutely opposed to a repeal of the Union, it must confess that it cannot and will not govern according to Irish ideas, but will only govern according to Irish ideas up to a certain point, and as far as it thinks expedient. If the Irish try to push it further than it wishes to go, it will employ the military strength of England. Mr. GLADSTONE, who started as their one great friend, will have to make the Irish understand that if they do not take what he gives them, and keep quiet, he will, however reluctantly, have to shoot them. This is what he will practically have to say, in whatever fair and courteous language he may try to say it. And that he will have to say it is apparently inevitable; for, as the supporters of tenant-right in Ireland avow themselves as only paving the way for Repeal, the Conservatives have a right to be told distinctly whether the Government recognises and approves of the consequences of their measure. The romance of the Irish system of Government will be gone. Mr. GLADSTONE will no longer be able to talk of messages of peace. The Land Bill is sure to be a message, not of peace, but of bitter disappointment to many thousands of Irishmen. All that he can say is that, having as Prime Minister of England to govern Ireland to a certain extent against its wishes, he thinks that what he proposes will be a good and wise measure for persons so governed. There is no help for it; we must recognise that we are going to benefit the Irish tenants, not to please them or any one else, not to inaugurate an age of gold in Ireland, not to carry out Irish ideas in Ireland, but simply to do justice. What is justice in so complicated a matter is so hard to say, and so many arguments may be used against every proposal, that a weak Government would inevitably succumb before the criticism which the Irish Land Bill will provoke. This is exactly the kind of rock on which second-rate Liberal Governments have invariably split. Mr. GLADSTONE approaches his hour of trial with advantages which no Minister previously possessed, and, with tact and firmness, there is every hope of his succeeding. But probably no one is so well aware as he is of the grave nature of the obstacles that stand in his way.

FRANCE AND THE COUNCIL.

IF it is true that the French Ambassador at Rome has been directed to remonstrate against the decrees which may be proposed to the Council, it would seem that the Emperor NAPOLEON has made the mistake of attaching political importance to purely ecclesiastical decisions. There is probably some inaccuracy in a report which, if it is not unfounded, is evidently incomplete. According to the statement of some of the papers, the Ambassador has communicated to the Papal Government a Memorandum written by the French MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP on the dogma of infallibility. If the EMPEROR had intended to take part in the theological controversies of the Council he would, as he explained in his Speech at the opening of the Session, have, in accordance with ancient custom, accredited an Ambassador to the Council itself. He added that the resident Envoy at Rome would watch the proceedings of the Council, and that he would be instructed to make any communication which might be necessary, in the ordinary manner, to the POPE or to the SECRETARY OF STATE. As the debates of the Council will be secret, the necessity of interference can scarcely arise until the final resolutions are published; and it is certain that, at the time

when the French Note is supposed to have been presented, the Council had not entered on the transaction of business. It is indeed generally believed that, unless his purpose is changed by the fear of opposition, the POPE will cause the Council to sanction, in more or less definite terms, the inconceivable dogma of his personal infallibility; but the design has been notorious almost from the time when the Council was first announced; and the French Government might have long since protested against the declaration, or it might have demanded a representation in the Council itself. It really matters nothing to any temporal Government whether the Church adopts or rejects any new declaration in the form of an unintelligible fiction. If infallibility cannot be explained away it will be of more stubborn material than older ecclesiastical formulas; and the proper way of dealing with a conventional paradox is to invent some antagonistic proposition which may deprive it of practical effect. If the King can do no wrong, he can do nothing but through the agency of Ministers who are especially responsible for any wrong which may be done. The POPE may perhaps be infallible in spiritual matters; but every State has the right to determine for itself whether in a particular case he is acting within the limits of his supernatural attribute. There is not the smallest reason to fear that any French layman will be more willing to obey a Pope who has made himself formally infallible; and it is impossible to increase the subserviency to the Holy See of the Ultramontane section of the clergy.

If any remonstrance has really been addressed to the Holy See, the MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS must have directed the Ambassador to transmit to Cardinal ANTONELLI the memorandum prepared by his colleague. According to the version which has been published, the MINISTER OF PUBLIC WORSHIP contends that the declaration of the POPE's infallibility would in some unexplained manner affect the validity of the French Concordat. The astute Roman SECRETARY OF STATE, who is well known to disapprove of the POPE's imprudent agitation, might probably welcome any plausible argument against the adoption of the objectionable dogma; but in his diplomatic capacity he could scarcely withhold the obvious reply that the Concordat was never made contingent on the abstinence of the POPE from propounding new theological definitions. If there had been any ground for the French protest, the time to object would have been when the Council was summoned, for it is the proper function of such an assembly to elaborate doctrines which, although in bulk or in germ they may have been included in the original creed of the Church, require, in the opinion of the members of the Council, to be more distinctly proclaimed. The EMPEROR has professed to expect advantage to the Church from deliberations which must necessarily be barren and useless if everything is to remain in its former condition. If the French Government thinks proper to engage in a gratuitous conflict with the POPE it would be convenient to select an issue in which the State was clearly in the right. The supposed difficulty with respect to the Concordat is as arbitrary a fiction as the dogma of infallibility. The POPE has already the right of refusing to accredit the bishops whom the EMPEROR may nominate; and it matters nothing whether, in giving or refusing his assent to an appointment, he is guided by a fallible or infallible judgment. Many changes might be made for the better in a convention which bears the stamp of the despotic instincts of NAPOLEON I. In placing the priests at the mercy of the bishops, who might themselves in many cases be docile servants of Rome, NAPOLEON only transferred into the ecclesiastical system the civil organization of his Empire; yet it is impossible to understand how either bishops or clergy will, in their temporal character, be aggrieved by the Papal assumption of an additional title.

If the Council were likely to be unanimous, it would be indiscreet to recognise by opposition or remonstrance the temporal efficacy of its decrees. When the Emperor of AUSTRIA a few years ago summoned the German Princes to Frankfurt for the purpose of remodelling the Federal Constitution, the Prussian Government, instead of intervening in deliberations which purported to affect the condition of every German State, rendered the whole enterprise abortive by simply declining to attend. Any objection to a particular exercise of authority involves a recognition of the power which is said to be abused. The early Kings and Parliaments of England repeatedly prohibited the circulation of Papal Bulls which might probably concern the interests of the realm, or disturb the allegiance of the subject. In the present day, except during the short madness caused by the so-called Papal Aggression, any Pope or prelate may, without impediment or risk, publish any document which he may think

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it expedient to issue. The interference of the French Government with matters of doctrine would be still more impolitic at a time when a weighty minority of the Council is endeavouring to restrain the temerity of the POPE. It is impossible for strangers, although they may regard the future decrees of the Council with entire indifference, not to sympathize with the prelates who desire to retain in the creed of their Church some respect for common sense and for human dignity. To save orthodox Catholics from the necessity of abdicating their self-respect is a laudable design; nor can it be doubted that every Roman Catholic statesman wishes well to the efforts of the ablest and most learned prelates of France and Germany. Any direct assistance offered by the temporal Power to the Opposition would furnish the POPE with the very argument which he needs by enabling him to prove that the Church is thwarted by the world, not to mention the flesh and the devil. If the Syllabus and the infallibility of the POPE were really formidable to the civil Power, it may be reasonably contended that the POPE's new dogmas are at least not frivolous and laughable. The most enlightened of the clergy will be excusably prejudiced against the intrusion of the laity into purely ecclesiastical deliberations. A dogma which restores to the Church a share of political influence will be at first sight acceptable to prelates who must have often feared that clerical discussions were moving in a different plane from secular affairs. The threat of meddling with the Concordat in retaliation for the possible aggressions of the Council is peculiarly infelicitous. It is not known whether the bishops who oppose the doctrinal innovations of the POPE desire that by some new ecclesiastical arrangement their clergy should be made less directly dependent on themselves. The Bishop of ORLEANS has, like his colleagues, the power of turning the incumbent of any parish in his diocese out of his living, and it is not in the nature of lay or of clerical dignitaries to think that their control over their subordinates ought to be diminished. The Concordat, moreover, is the only security for the subsistence of either bishops or clergy, and it in fact constitutes the union of Church and State in France. The POPE and the Jesuits might urge on the Council with almost irresistible force the duty of condemning, in the terms of the Syllabus, the pretensions of Governments which dared to threaten the Church with spoliation and anarchy as a penalty for the proclamation of a theological truth.

It will probably appear that the Emperor of the FRENCH has been prudent enough to leave the Council to itself. If he wishes that the POPE should be disappointed in his ambitious designs, the preliminary proceedings are not discouraging to the enemies of infallibility. The personal rudeness which has been shown to the more independent prelates, the strong language of the Allocution, and the stringent regulations for hampering free debate, are not indications of an approaching triumph. The appointment of a servile Commission to decide on the motions which are afterwards to be made in the Council will alienate the waverers and offend the independent party. In such an assembly the suffrages will be weighed rather than counted, and it will be idle to propound as divine truths propositions which are rejected by the greater number of the bishops of France, of Germany, of Hungary, and of the Austrian States. The clamour of illiterate fanatics will at the present day not be accepted as the voice of inspiration. It is evident that the POPE is angry; it is probable that he is frightened; and those who have urged him to prefer extravagant claims will share his uneasiness. It is not likely that he will be outvoted in the Council, but the proposals of his agents may be easily toned down into unmeaning generalities. It has been truly asserted that to frame a declaration of infallibility which may be open to a dozen different interpretations is a feat not too difficult for a Roman theologian accustomed to manipulate ecclesiastical Latin.

THE CONSERVATIVE WORKING-MAN.

LORD JOHN MANNERS, who is always stated by his friends to be insufficiently appreciated, has done a most striking service to his party, and made a discovery that does him great credit. He has hit upon the real Conservative working-man. This unknown being—this phantom, as that Conservative organ, the *Quarterly*, lately pronounced him to be—appears to exist in actual flesh and blood at Leicester, of all places, where, as Lord JOHN MANNERS truly says, he is most grievously misrepresented by Mr. PETER TAYLOR. What on earth was the Conservative working-man doing last winter that he should let the Leicester election go so decidedly the wrong way? Perhaps, although he exists in

sufficient numbers to fill a hall, there may not as yet be enough of him to carry an election. In that case he must look fondly to the future when, in the beautiful language of Lord JOHN MANNERS, the ship launched on Monday evening will land in the harbour of St. Stephen's a goodly cargo of two Conservative members. Lord JOHN MANNERS did his best to conduce to this happy result by laying down firmly and precisely the great articles of Conservative faith with which the Conservative working-man is to be imbued as he is evolved out of non-existence. These articles are mainly three—the belief, so touchingly expressed a week or two ago by Lord MALMESBURY, that whatever Lord DERBY did and said was absolutely right, the belief that the return of Fenians to Parliament is the right road to happiness for Ireland, and the belief that the sooner Protection is restored the better. It was equally easy and pleasant for Lord JOHN MANNERS to dilate on the wisdom and greatness of Lord DERBY, and he could descend from the haze of generalities into particulars specially addressed to working-men, and remind them that Lord DERBY, who always acted on the highest principles and with the utmost forethought, carried the glorious Reform Bill of 1867, that he opposed the demolition of the houses of working-men by Railway Companies, and that he was very liberal during the cotton famine in Lancashire. Lord DERBY is recently dead, and his character and career had something that appealed to the feelings and tastes of Englishmen of all parties; but it is quite possible to hurt even the recently dead by injudicious praise. The Conservative working-man, if he had any political existence antecedent to Monday last, might remember that although Lord DERBY may have had secretly the highest and most statesmanlike reasons for doing what he did in 1867, yet he himself described the course he adopted in a very homely way by owning that he was taking a leap in the dark, in the hope of dishing the Whigs. Lord DERBY's opposition to the demolition of the residences of working-men was by no means successful, and, so far as it had any merit, was shared by many humble men of all parties. At the time of the Lancashire cotton famine Lord DERBY behaved liberally according to the standard of the world, and took his proper position as the foremost nobleman of his district; but considering that even between the time when he acceded to the title and his death the industry of Lancashire must have added, without any effort on his part, at least a million sterling to his fortune, he cannot be said to have made an extravagant return by subscribing several thousand pounds and attending certain public meetings.

The praise of Lord DERBY naturally led Lord JOHN MANNERS to the fruitful and exciting topic of Ireland. The present state of that unhappy country proves, he thinks, that Lord DERBY was amply justified in his gallant resistance to the Irish Church Bill. The timid Conservatives who carried the Bill in order to secure a compromise must now see their blindness and folly; and if the misery of Ireland is the natural consequence of the carrying of the Bill, it was certainly wrong to lend any aid to so pernicious a measure. Lord JOHN MANNERS invited his new-born friends to join with him in a general glorying and gloating over the calamities which have preyed upon Ireland ever since the present factious Ministry arrested her in that progress towards material prosperity which she was nearing with giant strides under Lord MAYO and the Duke of ABERCORN. It may be hoped that India under Lord MAYO will not make the same sort of giant strides towards material prosperity, or Lord MAYO will be as unhappy as he was when he described what seemed to him the real condition of Ireland in 1867. The conduct of the present Government Lord JOHN MANNERS naturally depicted in the worst possible light. He even stated that they had reversed the Apostolic injunction, and instead of becoming a terror to evil-doers had become a terror to themselves. This he confessed was a "hard saying," but he offered to substantiate it; and he explained what he meant in this way. The grand juries of Westmeath and Meath asked for protection, but the Government said that they could not devise any special remedies, and asked the grand juries whether they had anything to propose. The Government were thus a terror to themselves. Evidently Lord JOHN MANNERS thought that his hearers were but babes in Conservatism, and that any explanation which went beyond milk would be too much for them. Luckily, in the blackest hour of their despair, fortune has, in the eyes of Lord JOHN MANNERS, befriended most unexpectedly the loyal Irish. A Fenian convict was elected for Tipperary, and immediately troops were sent from Aldershot and ships from Portsmouth to put down disaffection. A like cause will again, it may be calculated, produce a like effect. If another Fenian convict is elected in

Longford, there will be more troops and more ships sent. A third Fenian triumph in Queen's County, Lord JOHN MANNERS reckons, will involve the despatch of still further reinforcements; and so, if enough Fenians are returned, the whole British army and navy will be sent to Ireland, and then that neglected island will resume the career of orderly tranquillity which it pursued so steadily (though, alas, somewhat invisibly) when Conservative statesmen were in office.

Some contemptuous and impatient Liberals may think scorn of all this pleasant talk, and wonder how ever Conservative working-men can stand it. But they are inclined, we think, to assume much too easily that the working-man has a kind of innate sagacity, denied to gentlemen and shopkeepers, which, although he does nothing to cultivate his mind except follow manual labour and drink beer, enables him to detect at once every political fallacy and to see the inherent superiority of Liberal principles. It has always seemed to us wonderful, not that there should be so many Conservative working-men, but that there should be so few; and if ever the working-man can be made to believe that the party of Lord JOHN MANNERS will give him something he values, it seems to us quite possible that the wish to get better wages may for a time smother the passion for democratic equality. We think that there was a part of Lord JOHN MANNERS's speech which revealed why the working-man of Leicester suddenly began to dream that he too might be a Conservative. It appears that something very dreadful and terrible has happened at Leicester. There are now two houses open in Leicester in which German fancy hosiery goods are exposed for sale. Lord JOHN MANNERS spoke of this awful sign of the times with proper solemnity. This, he pointed out, was the true and legitimate result of Free-trade. The working-man may think Free-trade a fine thing when it means selling Leicester hosiery in Berlin; but it is quite different when it means Germans selling their hosiery goods in Leicester. This sort of insult to the British workman, and attack on his legitimate profits, must be put down, and Lord JOHN MANNERS, the pupil of that great reasoner Lord GEORGE BENTINCK, is the man to show how it is to be put down. Free-trade is a misuse of words, and half the misery of the human race is caused by the misuse of words. What Free-trade really means Lord JOHN MANNERS thought it unnecessary to say, thinking it probably unnecessary to raise a point of merely speculative interest; for, as he assured his hearers, we have no such thing as Free-trade now. What we have is a system of imperfect free imports. Not that the degree of perfection or imperfection with which imports are free from duty seems to have much to do with Free-trade; for Lord JOHN MANNERS went on to state that, in his opinion, every import might be altogether freed from duty, and yet there would be no Free-trade. Of course what he meant was that Free-trade consisted in other nations having no customs duties upon our goods. It is now about twenty years since the absurdity of this view was supposed to have been conclusively established, and yet here we have Protection beginning to show itself once more rampant in England, while it holds undisputed sway in the United States and in almost every English colony, and is pressing hard for a victory in France. England still stands alone as a free-trading country. Why should the working-men of England be wiser than working-men in Australia or America or Northern France? Hitherto England has been prosperous under Free-trade, and the electoral body has for other reasons preferred men who happened to understand political economy. But it is by no means impossible that, if there is any prolonged distress in the manufacturing districts, workmen may seize with avidity so easy a remedy as that of shutting up shops which dare to sell German hosiery goods, and may even, while doing so, place themselves under the appropriate tutelage of the disciples of the great and wise Lord GEORGE BENTINCK.

THE SULTAN AND THE KHEWIVE.

THE acceptance by the Khedive of EGYPT of the SULTAN's peremptory Firman is a little surprising, and altogether satisfactory. The English Ambassador appears, in conformity with the uniform policy of his Government, to have taken an active part in the settlement of the dispute; and, from the statement of the official journal, that the controversy is finally closed, it may be inferred that the French Government approved of the arrangement. The use, in the French version of the Firman, of the second person singular seems, according to European notions, discourteous; but probably it is consistent with Turkish idiom,

or perhaps the SULTAN, like the POPE, is too sublimely majestic to make a distinction between an almost independent vassal and a mere dignitary of his Court. In substance the Firman forbids the VICEROY from raising fresh loans or borrowing money without the preliminary sanction of the Porte; and although formal acknowledgments of sovereignty, like other State engagements, are for the most part interpreted by the comparative strength of the parties concerned, the Firman and the submission of the KHEWIVE will throw serious impediments in the way of future dealings with European capitalists. Any security which the Egyptian Government can offer will be invalid within the knowledge of the lender until the necessary authority has been obtained, perhaps at the price of a share in the loan, from the Ministry at Constantinople. The KHEWIVE may perhaps contend that he is still at liberty to pledge to creditors the proceeds of his vast private estates; but the legal difficulties of any similar transaction will either close the money-market to his proposals or raise the rate of interest to an extravagant amount. The SULTAN pretends to control the destination of Egyptian revenues as well as to interfere in the contraction of loans. His objection to the construction of ironclad ships and to the purchase of breechloading rifles is at least as strong as the paternal solicitude which watches over the condition of the Egyptian taxpayer. It is not known by what arguments the English Ambassador has induced the KHEWIVE to surrender every point in dispute. It was in the highest degree undesirable that for any reason, good or bad, Turkey and Egypt should be involved in civil war; but it might have been supposed that the KHEWIVE would have profited by the alarms of Europe to demand better terms for himself. It must have been more than ordinarily vexatious to descend publicly to the rank of a mere Governor-General immediately after the conclusion of hospitalities offered to Crowned Heads and to heirs apparent. Mere professions of allegiance might have been regarded as a cheap equivalent for freedom from molestation and remonstrance; but the abandonment of financial independence is, unless it can be evaded, fatal to ambitious designs. Conquests, and even great internal improvements, are too expensive to be paid for out of income.

It is highly improbable that the KHEWIVE really intends to become a mere officer of the SULTAN. He is already projecting a plan for opening Upper Egypt to navigation; and Sir SAMUEL BAKER is about to subject to the dominion of his employer the wild tribes of the Northern tropic. It is not likely that a simple measure of precaution taken by the English Government will interfere with the progress of the expedition. Remembering Abyssinia and its ten millions of outlay, Lord CLARENDON has warned the adventurers that they will have no claim to English protection in the event of their falling into trouble. It was almost superfluous to repudiate contingent responsibility for the proceedings of a foreign expedition which happens to be organized by an Englishman. Ordinary travellers penetrate barbarous countries at their own risk, and the attendance of a flotilla and an army establishes no additional claim to English protection. If the KHEWIVE succeeds in forming an Empire for himself in Africa, it is easy to foresee that his dependence on Turkey will dwindle into a mere formality. In the meantime his unwillingness to precipitate a rupture indicates moderation and good sense. He may perhaps have thought that the Suez Canal, though it will add to the prosperity of his dominions, is likely to bring them into closer contact with Powers far more formidable than Turkey. The concessions which have been recently made may probably under different circumstances be revoked or forgotten; and separation from the authority of the Porte would involve the necessity of a Protectorate to be exercised by France, or perhaps by a combination of European Governments. The local ruler will never be allowed to control one of the great arteries of the commerce and navigation of the world; but Egypt as a part of Turkey has a better title to any rights which it may retain than if it were a new and independent State. His predecessors, though they steadily pursued their own aggrandizement, have from time to time displayed an unexpected loyalty to the SULTAN when he required their aid; and the same motives possibly influence the policy of the KHEWIVE. It is difficult to believe that an Oriental satrap bent on attaining the position of a civilized monarch should feel any romantic attachment to the chief of his professed religion and of his nation; but Mahometan potentates may reasonably consider that they cannot afford to quarrel in the presence of unsympathizing Christendom, and, whatever might be the inclination of the reigning dynasty, Egypt is not ripe for conversion. In the interior of Africa Mahometanism is even now a progressive and conquering

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Although the SULTAN has only established technically legitimate claims, his diplomatic triumph may perhaps not be an unmixed advantage. Twice in one year, by a display of firmness, he has extorted the submission of foreign enemies or of insubordinate vassals. The Congress of Paris was forced, in the Greek dispute, to make the Turkish Protocol the basis of pacification, because the SULTAN was determined to vindicate his rights by the use of superior force. There was reason to believe that he was equally resolute in his determination to compel the submission of the KHEDIVE, although the result of a contest with Egypt would have been more doubtful than in the case of Greece. There are fortunately no oppressed co-religionists in Egypt for Christian Powers to protect; and indeed in that favoured province the SULTAN professes to defend the cause of the subject against the provincial Government. The determination of the Porte to repress disaffection in any part of the Empire may perhaps discourage the agents of disturbance in the Northern and Western provinces; but there is reason to fear that partial success may encourage the SULTAN to entertain exaggerated notions of his own power. In the suppression of the Cretan insurrection, and in the dispute with Greece, he had right on his side; and in the late controversy with the KHEDIVE he relied on the letter of firmans and conventions; but there are many dormant claims which it would not be judicious to enforce. Against internal opponents the Porte is probably strong enough to contend, but for protection against foreign conquest it can only rely on the engagements and on the jealousies of the European Powers. Even the steady friendship of the English Government might not be available if the Porte were to undertake a wrongful quarrel. The most instructive comment on the late negotiation with Egypt will be furnished by the answer of capitalists to the next application for a Turkish loan. It is not often that a borrower has the opportunity of preventing a rival from competing with him in the money-market; and perhaps the restrictions imposed on the KHEDIVE may not be found to enhance the credit of the Supreme Government. The august care of the SULTAN for the taxpayers who might have to pay the interest of an Egyptian loan will probably not extend to the rest of his subjects, and hitherto as large a proportion of the proceeds of loans has been wasted on Court extravagance at Constantinople as at Cairo. The immovable East has from time to time allowed marked exceptions to its intolerance of modern innovations. As it adopted the universal use of tobacco soon after the discovery of America, it has recently learned the profitable art of contracting loans. When MEHEMET ALI founded his dynasty, and even when the present relations of Egypt and Turkey were adjusted after the Syrian war, there could be little anticipation of a dispute on matters of fiscal administration. It was a matter of course that Sultans and subordinate rulers would extract from their subjects the largest possible revenue, but it had not yet occurred to the Turkish mind that the hoards of Europe could, by a simple contrivance, be applied to the use of the SULTAN or of the VICEROY. The almost obsolete pretence to absolute sovereignty over Egypt has been oddly asserted in the prohibition to contract loans in London or Paris.

PROPERTY IN LAND.

THE danger which awaits landed property in England from impending legislation in Ireland is at the same time obvious and inevitable. As in the case of the Irish Church, the operation on a limb which is diseased or supposed to be diseased threatens the safety of the sounder member; yet it is desirable that a question affecting the rights or the existence of a large and important class should neither be unnecessarily raised, nor discussed in a spirit of levity. Until lately it was alleged that the landed tenure of Ireland was so anomalous that it must be exceptionally remodelled on some different principle from the ordinary law of contract. Lord LICHFIELD now proposes to convert the exception into the rule by laying down the proposition that what is good for Ireland cannot be bad for England. PROCRUSTES himself was content to reduce his victims by mutilation down to a standard which he found in nature. Modern lovers of symmetry propose to cut down the shorter victim to an arbitrary length, and then to complete the match by reducing the taller to the same dimensions. There is no reason to suspect Lord LICHFIELD of wilful injustice, especially when it is inflicted on himself and his class; but he would do well to reflect that the right of property as it has been created by immemorial custom is not a convenient subject-matter for novel theories. It would probably be use-

less to urge upon tenant-farmers in Staffordshire or elsewhere the more remote consideration that, if the freehold or a part of the freehold is to be taken from the landlords, there is not the smallest reason why it should be gratuitously bestowed on the occupiers. A tenant who has been admitted to possession of a farm under definite covenants has no better claim than the merest stranger to additional provisions which would entitle him to a saleable estate in the land. In a general scramble it is not always the person nearest the door of the house which is plundered who ultimately carries off the booty. Landowners might have been expected to be unanimous in their opposition to measures which could only be directed against themselves. Lord LICHFIELD is probably misreported when he is supposed to recommend the landlords of England to immolate themselves in the hope of reconciling the landlords of Ireland to their fate. Heroic remedies for non-existent diseases are but circuitous modes of suicide.

The right of compensation for improvements is sufficiently protected either by agreements or by rules embodied in the local custom of the country. The improvements made by tenants in highly cultivated districts consist for the most part of fertility added to the land within a recent period by particular methods of cropping or cultivating, and by artificial manures. There are sometimes differences of opinion as to the amount claimed by an outgoing tenant; but the principle that he is entitled to be paid in money for what he leaves in the land in addition to what he found there is never practically disputed. As a general rule no tenant in England, except under special agreements which supersede the necessity of legislation, builds or drains, or makes the permanent improvements for which it is alleged that protection is required. Where the landlord finds the capital and adds the interest to the rent, it is evident that the benefit will accrue to the occupier for the time being, and that there is no pretext for compensation on either side. Over a great part of England, the tenant, as a matter of fact, never thinks of leaving the land better than he found it; and yet, according to the scheme which Lord LICHFIELD favours, every termination of an occupancy would, as a matter of course, be followed by litigation. The witnesses to be examined before any tribunal which might be appointed to assess the compensation would probably be tenant-farmers with an incurable bias in favour of the claimant. The expense and uncertainty which would follow the removal of even the most vexatious and incompetent tenant would, as in Ireland, be the first step towards perpetuity of tenure. The corresponding liability of an outgoing tenant who had demonstrably deteriorated the value of the land would in nine cases out of ten be merely nominal. A landowner is for the most part willing to let a bad farmer go without enforcing the claims which may have arisen from his mismanagement. In the more backward parts of the country it is found that leases are one-sided bargains which the tenant dissolves at pleasure, while the landlord is necessarily bound. A legal presumption that an outgoing tenant was entitled to compensation would have an exactly similar effect, and an artificial fixity of tenure would remove one motive which induces farmers to do justice to the land. A capricious eviction of a good tenant is one of the rarest of rural occurrences.

The risk that the promulgation of careless fallacies may encourage extravagant demands was illustrated by the proceedings at a late meeting at Aberystwith, assembled to protest against the grievances of certain Welsh tenants, who had or had not been evicted for political reasons after the general election. There can in the present day be no difference of opinion as to the culpability of a landlord who dismisses a tenant for exercising his franchise according to his own discretion. Modern public opinion may possibly not have penetrated into the remoter parts of Wales. A century ago Irish leases, of which some are still extant, if not valid, often included covenants binding the tenant to vote as his landlord might direct. In Wales, and generally in England, a tacit understanding took the place of an illegal contract, and the substitution of the influence of the Dissenting minister for the traditionary power of the landlord has perhaps produced ill-feeling and injustice. If only a small part of the allegations of the Welsh ministers and their political associates proves to be true, the tenants who may have suffered for their preference of the chapel to the hall are entitled to sympathy, and, where it is possible, to redress; but occasion was taken at the Aberystwith meeting to agitate for revolutionary changes in the distribution of landed property. Mr. RICHARD, M.P. for Merthyr, himself formerly a Dissenting minister, propounded, amid the cheers of the meeting, the doctrine that a tenant who had lived twenty years on his farm had acquired a right to joint ownership in the land, or, in other words, to the fee-

simple, subject to a fixed or variable quit-rent. Demagogues who tell any class of the community that its members are entitled to the property of their neighbours are not likely to want hearers. A Welsh farmer, though he is probably a dogmatic theologian, is seldom either a political economist or a jurist; and he will cordially adopt any theory which may prove that he ought to become the owner of the land which he tills. Lord LICHFIELD unintentionally aids with his authority the subversive projects advanced by Mr. RICHARD when he unnecessarily proposes to alter the existing relations of landlord and tenant. From the well-meant resolutions of the Staffordshire Chamber of Commerce, and the strong language of the Aberystwith agitators, systems of spoliation rise by successive degrees to the sweeping negation of all right of property in land which finds enthusiastic supporters among the Continental Socialists and their disciples in England.

A Club in London, of which Mr. BRADLAUGH is a principal ornament, lately adopted a resolution which perhaps represents the furthest point to which revolutionary theorists have yet advanced in England. The associated patriots have determined that all landed property ought at once to be taken from the owners, and, in the great majority of cases, without compensation. The Club doubts whether strict justice would not require that the expropriated landlords should be compelled to refund a portion of the hundreds of millions which they have wrung in the shape of rent, not, as it would seem, from the tenants, but, in some unexplained manner, from an oppressed people. Perhaps on reconsideration the impossibility of robbing a man after seizing all his property will reconcile the Land Club to simple spoliation. Indeed they are generous enough to provide that, in a very few cases where there might possibly be a semblance of hardship, the ex-landowner should receive an annuity to be voted by a Parliament elected by universal suffrage. Probably all difficulties would be removed by giving the meritorious minority a mortgage on some portion of the hundreds of millions which are to be reclaimed from the rest of the expropriated owners. Some portion, however, of the undisgorged spoil will be required to pay the National Debt, which is to be charged on the upper classes when it has been repudiated by the nation. Other kinds of personalty are apparently to be tolerated for a time, though it is not to be supposed that they will long survive the confiscation of real estate. Mischievous nonsense of this kind is encouraged, as it was probably originally suggested, by the frequent hints of careless writers that property in land is exceptional and qualified in its nature. English landowners who venture to criticize any of the numerous projects for dealing with Irish tenures are constantly reminded that, if they make themselves troublesome, they will find that in England also there is a land question. The managers of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association have repeatedly proposed that additional taxes should be placed on land, because it is a property of a peculiar character, or because the landowners of four or five centuries ago were bound to perform military service. It may be true that there are special accidents attached to land which may be distinguished by economists from moveable property, and from the vast and various mass of securities which represent fixed or variable shares in industrial undertakings; but the surplus value of land beyond the share of the occupier will always belong to some public or private owner, and society has looked on while buyers have invested their money in land with full legal assurance that they should enjoy the equivalent of their purchase-money. A man who has bought a farm and a man who has bought a railway debenture have made equally legitimate bargains; and there is not the smallest reason why their proportionate contribution to the necessities of the State should not be the same. It may perhaps be possible at some remote time to organize prosperous communities in which there will be no private property, either real or personal; but to retain the institution in principle and to tamper with it in detail is consistent neither with reason nor with justice. The so-called Land and Labour League is more consistent than the hesitating defenders of property. After contrasting the wealth of the richer classes with the hardships of the poor, the Council arrives at the conclusion that "there is but one and one only remedy—Help yourselves." It is only in the first instance that they propose to help themselves to the land, or, in their own phrase, to effect its nationalization.

THE EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH AND HIS MINISTERS.

THE political condition of France for the last two months can best be described as a prolonged Ministerial crisis. All through November the one subject of speculation was whether

the opening of the Corps Législatif would find M. DE FORCADE still in office. He was so completely the representative member of that transition Cabinet which had been formed on the retirement of M. ROUHER, that any faint claims which it might have put forward to be abreast of the new state of things had been entirely suppressed. There are few people in this country, and not very many, we suspect, in France, who could tell even the names of his colleagues. Though his influence may have been less dictatorial, it has been fully as conspicuous as ever M. ROUHER's was; and amongst the many parts which M. DE FORCADE is fitted to play, that of the first Minister of the Constitutional Empire can hardly be counted. Still, in spite of all predictions to the contrary, the 29th of November came, and M. DE FORCADE resumed his old place on the Ministerial bench. Then the course of speculation changed, and Paris was divided as to whether the Cabinet would go out of its own accord or wait for a Parliamentary defeat. As a rule, directly opposite reports on this point have gained on alternate days the widest circulation and the most trustful credence. When it seemed quite ascertained that M. DE FORCADE had resigned that morning, he was sure to be most active and most official in the afternoon sitting. When he had just made an unusually happy stroke in defence of a contested election, the conviction that he was to resign next day seemed to gather fresh strength. At the moment we are writing his retirement is announced as imminent, and the composition of the Cabinet which is to succeed him is stated with the utmost precision. But it is quite possible that by the time this reaches our readers both reports may have been formally contradicted, and M. DE FORCADE may have made a speech on the policy of the Government such as in any other country would imply the most undisturbed certainty that he will continue to direct it throughout the Session.

It is, we suppose, to the vacillations of the Imperial resolution that all this confusion is to be traced. The divisions between the Right and Left Centres with which the Session opened may not unnaturally have led the EMPEROR to hope that the cause of Personal Government was not yet lost. It is even possible that the accession of so many members of the old majority to M. OLLIVIER's programme was the result of some unspoken understanding with the Tuileries. The first thought that would suggest itself to NAPOLEON III. after conceding Parliamentary institutions would be how he could best turn them to his own purpose, and the extraordinary subserviency of the Chamber as regards many of the disputed seats might well lead him to doubt whether the revolution of the summer was, after all, as sweeping as it had seemed to be. At rare intervals the Right Centre has displayed a sudden animosity against some official candidate which has led to his return being quashed, but to prevent this being construed into a precedent they have taken care to confirm the next three or four disputed returns, though their illegality has been equally flagrant. This is just the temper to make the EMPEROR hesitate. It shows that no real deference to constitutional principles underlies their sudden admiration of constitutional forms. NAPOLEON III. is probably quite willing to humour this latter temper to the very utmost. The outward show of power has never been to him an object of paramount importance. It is the solid reality that he loves, and if that could be secured to him under some semblance of Parliamentary government, he would beyond question adapt himself with perfect complacency to his new position. It is easy to see, however, that when the question presented itself how best to utilize this favourable disposition on the part of the majority, very plausible arguments would present themselves on the side both of retaining and of dismissing M. DE FORCADE and his colleagues. M. DE FORCADE is unluckily identified with the system of official candidatures, but with that exception he is not specially committed against Liberal measures, and very much larger concessions might be made with safety if the Minister who will have to carry them out can be trusted to manage things adroitly. The changes which may be found necessary would at all events be represented as the free gift of the EMPEROR. Though in words M. DE FORCADE might be responsible to the Chamber, he would, in fact, be responsible to the EMPEROR, and to him alone. If only the majority would stand his being retained in office, the Imperial fall might be so broken as to inflict no serious injury.

It may be suspected that, on arriving at this point, the EMPEROR's mind would become suddenly impressed with the advantages of the opposite policy. Supposing the majority are not disposed to acquiesce in M. DE FORCADE's presence in the Cabinet, they will obviously have it in their power to subject him to immediate defeat, and then the crisis which NAPOLEON III. is most anxious to avert will meet

him face to face. All France will see that the country wishes one Ministry and the EMPEROR another, and the final choice between Personal and Parliamentary Government will not admit of any longer postponement. The temper of the majority on a point of this nature is not very easy to ascertain. No doubt a good many of its members have only gone in for Liberal reforms from a prudent regard for their own comfort and safety. They saw that the enemies from which they hoped the Imperial Government had delivered them for ever were still formidable, and they no longer felt their old confidence in the success of the Napoleonic panacea. They took the strong step, therefore, of separating themselves from the EMPEROR, in the perhaps genuine belief that in so doing they were rendering him the best service in their power. But the very fact of their having gone so far will make them anxious not to lose the fruits of their sacrifice. The motives which led them to accept M. OLLIVIER's programme will hardly incline them to put up with his rival as Minister. When an Arcadian has once made friends with the Mammon of unrighteousness in the shape of Liberal principles, he may naturally reflect that, if the representative of the opposite system is still to remain in office, he will have taken all this trouble for nothing. He has found it necessary to read the EMPEROR one lesson in the shape of the Interpellation of the 116, and if this proves insufficient, he may find it necessary to read him another in the shape of a Parliamentary overthrow. NAPOLEON III. must thoroughly know the men with whom he has to deal, and he has no doubt traced out in anticipation the course which their reflections are likely to take.

Besides these negative considerations, the dismissal of M. DE FORCADE has positive reasons in its favour which are not likely to have escaped the EMPEROR's notice. If he appoints a Liberal Ministry now, without waiting for any hint from the Chamber, the act will, in appearance at least, be the spontaneous product of his own will. He will have established no inconvenient precedent of deferring to the wishes of the Corps Législatif; he will have avoided that breach of continuity between the Personal and the Constitutional empire which he evidently views with so much abhorrence. Again, his relations with his new Ministers will be likely to be pleasanter if he calls them to him of his own accord, than if he waits to have them forced upon him by a Parliamentary vote. This may seem but a small matter, but in the kind of duel which must inevitably go on between NAPOLEON III. and any Liberal Ministry which deserves the name, it will be a decided advantage to the former that the members of the Cabinet shall not feel that their presence there is the evidence of a past, as well as the earnest of a future, victory. It will be a further gain for the EMPEROR that a Ministry taking office now will have had no opportunity of ascertaining its real strength either in the Corps Législatif or in the country. The divisions on the verification of the elections have shown how much the majority is wanting in cohesion, and if it is true that the new Cabinet will include MM. OLLIVIER, DARU, and BUFFET, it will be composed of elements which have but very lately been on the verge of parting asunder. A Parliamentary contest, followed by a decisive victory, would have ranged all the Liberalism of the Corps Législatif on their side; and though the Left would in any case have given them but a doubtful support after they were actually in power, the fact that it had helped to place them there might have generated some sentiments of sympathy. As it is, a Ministry of the Centre will succeed to office as the nominees of the EMPEROR, and there is considerable danger that this may at once throw the Left into opposition, and by consequence give a predominating influence to the reactionary wing of the Ministerial party. Altogether, if the EMPEROR has really dismissed M. FORCADE, he has chosen his time wisely.

THE ST. PANCRAS BEAR-PIT.

WE have to tender a humble apology to the "new" Guardians of St. Pancras. We had thought they had retired from the field of their glory—nay, we even went the length of conceiving that some faint regrets for the number of their victims might accompany them in their retreat. Their conduct on Monday last, as reported by the *Standard*, was a triumphant answer to these injurious suspicions. The elected representatives of the St. Pancras ratepayers have shown that their ancient spirit has not deserted them, and that they are as expert in bullying their brother Guardians as in managing sick paupers. Possibly it was the consciousness that their opportunities of indulging in the latter congenial pursuit are almost over that

nerved them to unusual efforts. Like an eminent person whom we need not here name, they came down in great wrath, knowing that their time is short. For once, however, they found fortune adverse. The *ex-officio* members of the Board had come down also, and with five "old" Guardians they commanded fourteen votes against eleven commanded by the new Guardians. The latter, it is true, had a strong body-guard of ratepayers, who conducted themselves after the manner of the roughs at a prize-fight—the composition of the two assemblies being probably nearly identical. But the ratepayers, though they had voices and fists, had no votes, and the successive motions introduced by the new Guardians were consequently all lost. But if the minority was nowhere in the divisions, it was ubiquitous in debate. Mr. WATKINS and Mr. NORTH had the speaking pretty much to themselves, but they were fully equal to the demand on their lungs. The first grievance was the alleged presence of policemen. The audience had probably often made acquaintance with the inside of the police-court or the sessions-house, and naturally disliked having unpleasant recollections brought to their minds. The second grievance was the desire of the Chairman and the *ex-officio* Guardians to preserve order. When Mr. ROSS represented to the gallery that constant interruption was an inconvenient feature in a business meeting, a Mr. FOSKETT immediately "disagreed" with him. "There would be serious discontent in the parish if the mouths of the ratepayers were to be stopped." Upon both these points the remonstrants seem to have had their way. The police, if they were present, took no active part in the proceedings, though at times they would have had very sufficient excuse for doing so; the ratepayers' mouths were certainly not stopped except from the hoarseness consequent on undue vocal exertion.

The special business before the meeting was the election of the St. Pancras contingent of the new Sick Asylum Board. Mr. NORTH, however, objected to this subject having precedence, on the ground that he had a more pressing motion on the paper, to wit, a vote of censure on the "scandalous conduct of Mr. WYATT." The discussion principally turned on the order in which the various motions should be taken, but the oratorical gems with which the speeches of the new Guardians were liberally adorned had usually a purely personal application. Mr. MUNDAY remarked, amidst vociferous cheering, "that if he had acted like Mr. WYATT, he would deserve to be flogged at the cart's-tail from the Britannia to the Cobden Statue"—a distinction which some persons might not object to see him enjoy without a too strict inquiry into his precise qualifications for the honour. Mr. WATKINS thought it "high time the *ex-officios* were swept away from the face of the earth," and hoped that Mr. WYATT in particular would shortly be turned, "not only out of the Board, but out of the parish." It is to be regretted that the ratepayers should have evinced some incapacity to appreciate real poetry; at least, it is to some such obtuseness on their part that we attribute the "laughter" with which Mr. ROBERTSON's touching lament that "gentlemen in the prime of life should do what was calculated to dim their reputations" was received by the gallery. Still it seems a little unreasonable that Mr. ROBERTSON should have passed over the ratepayers' merriment without censure, and called attention to the *ex-officio* Guardians with the almost personal observation, "HEALEY there keeps grinning like a baboon." We do not question Mr. ROBERTSON's right to know how a baboon grins, but in that extremely miscellaneous crowd which he described as "those whom he represented" there must have been sufficient distortion of feature to render it unnecessary to mention names. Even Mr. ROBERTSON, however, must yield the palm of vituperation to Mr. NORTH. We must especially single out for praise the scathing sarcasm of his expression of obligation to Mr. CORBETT, the Poor-law Inspector, "for his lecture on the way to perform their business," the poetical fervour of his prophecy that "the J.P.'s would very shortly be 'blown to the winds,'" the contemptuous permission accorded to Mr. HEALEY to laugh because "wisdom and grey hairs in his case had long since parted company." Perhaps, however, even these flowers of eloquence must yield to the rude vigour of his warning to Mr. WYATT, "not to ride the high horse from which he had already been thrown several times, as, if 'he did not look out, he would soon get another tumble.'" We believe that Mr. NORTH is a Dissenting minister. If this statement is true, we beg leave to offer our sincere sympathies to the religious body which enjoys the honour of his support. It may be well, however, to remind those who are office-bearers among them that it has always been regarded as one of the points in which a voluntary Church has the advantage of an established that it can relieve

itself of undesirable members. If the process in question has been already performed, we shall be quite ready to apologize for the superfluous suggestion we have offered. At length the business of the day was got over, and the members of the Asylum Board were elected by a compromise. After this had been effected, the audience prepared themselves for a free fight. On this occasion Mr. WATKINS acted as herald, and intimated to the roughs who had assembled that they had an opportunity—though he trusted they would abstain from availing themselves of it—of proving their prowess by some overt breach of the peace. “I hope,” he said, “that Mr. WYATT will go out as safe as he came in.” This original version of “Don’t put him under the pump” was naturally the signal for “fearful uproar,” and “Mr. WYATT was immediately surrounded, and hooted and hissed ‘at in a threatening manner.’” Fortunately the ratepayers in the hall were too much occupied to swell the crowd outside. “The scene,” we are told, “became indescribable, several ‘fights appearing imminent’; nothing probably but the English veneration for local misgovernment prevented a dozen or two of the ringleaders, with one or two of the elected Guardians at their head, from being carried off in handcuffs.

This edifying scene suggests two reflections. The first relates to the *ex-officio* Guardians. They are, it appears, ten in number, so that, with the aid of the four “old” Guardians, they can at all times be sure of a majority in the Board. We can very well understand that such scenes as those reported by our contemporary to have taken place on Monday last have few attractions for decent people. By all accounts a collection of the St. Pancras ratepayers must bear a very close resemblance to the hold of a convict hulk. But if *ex-officio* Guardianship means anything, those who hold that position ought not to leave the affairs of the parish and the care of the poor in the hands of persons like Messrs. WATKINS and NORTH. In all these recent meetings, at which the condition of the Infirmary has been under discussion, where were the *ex-officio* Guardians? They are fourteen against twelve, and for business purposes a majority of two is as good as a majority of two hundred. They might have closed the Infirmary, and made other arrangements for the inmates, before a single pauper had been killed. That it may be unpleasant to come in contact with the “new” Guardians we can readily believe. We only know these men by newspaper report, but unless they are greatly traduced, there are those among them whose society can be scarcely preferable to that of the better class of roughs. But it is the very essence of official duty that it shall not be particular as to the company it keeps, and where it was a question of keeping dying men and women alive, the *ex-officio* Guardians ought never to have been absent from their posts. Our second remark refers to Mr. GOSCHEN. The Poor Law Board has lately been making some very useful suggestions as to the co-operation between the Guardians and charitable persons. The recommendation is in all respects such as we should like to see carried out, but we are compelled to confess that no one in his senses would allow his alms to be at the mercy of officials like the St. Pancras Guardians. Mr. GOSCHEN may be quite sure that, unless he asks power from Parliament to deal with refractory Guardians by some stringent and summary process, any common action on the part of Guardians and private persons is virtually impossible. Great as are the evils of indiscriminate charity they are not equal to the evils of entrusting the poor to the tender mercies of Messrs. WATKINS and NORTH. Until the Poor Law Board can devise some scheme for bringing people of this type under effectual control, the whole organization of legal relief must remain affected with hopeless discredit.

MARRIAGE À LA MODE AMÉRICAINE.

THERE is a book—one of those books which no library that pretends to be a library is without—*Picart's Religious Ceremonies, including Marriage Ceremonies of all Nations*. It is some years since we saw it, but our recollections, hazy perhaps, suggest that certain of these marriage rites, especially some African nuptial ceremonies—we think they were African—were particularly odd. It is not very likely that a new edition of this huge engraved folio should be forthcoming; but in such an eventuality—this is one of the last noble words of the newspapers—we suggest that a recent scene which took place at New York should be inserted. It is quite worthy of illustration, both literary and pictorial. For ourselves, not having gifts of the right sort, we can only describe it in a very jog-trot, hacknied fashion. The exciting incidents, as

they call them, and the highly-spiced paragraphs of the American reporters, will make up for our artistic deficiencies. Miss BRADDON might make a good thing of it, and we dare say that she congratulates herself that the RICHARDSON and M'FARLAND marriage amply vindicates her many contributions to moral literature from the imputation that has been cast upon them as to their untruthfulness, or rather untruth-likeness. Indeed, as we come to think of it, the consolations of the murder and adultery school of fictionists may take another form. They have in this pleasant life-history the gratification of knowing that they have not preached altogether in vain. The seed has fallen on ground which, if not absolutely good in itself, is eminently suited for the growth of plants of the nightshade and stapelia sort—the stapelian group, as the botany books say, being remarkable for the carrion odour of its flowers.

The actors in this pleasant and edifying drama belong, it must be confessed, to Bohemia. But then Bohemia is a recognised life and region. It has not only its place in the social cosmos, but a high one, and in New York a very high one. Bohemia, to take Bohemia's word for it, is not only, or not so much, artistic and literary as art and literature itself. In the tongue, and we dare say in the estimation, of Bohemia, art means comic limning, and literature means journalism and the stage. Anyhow the heroes and the heroine of the New York “tragedy which has engrossed much attention” are in all respects Bohemians. In Bohemian tongue the drama proceeds in this wise:—Enter N.E. (or whatever the technical slang for one side of the stage is) “Mr. ALBERT RICHARDSON, a New York ‘journalist, an army correspondent, an author, and in a variety ‘of ways a contributor to newspaper and periodical literature.’” Enter S.W. (as before) “Mrs. M'FARLAND, an actress, the ‘mother of two children, of whom RICHARDSON became ‘enamoured.’” Brevity is the soul of wit, and, we suppose, of adultery too. “She quarrelled with her husband, and returned RICHARDSON's passion.” Here we suspect what the grammar people used to call a rhetorical metathesis, and that it ought to read, “She returned RICHARDSON's passion and ‘quarrelled with her husband,’” but Miss BRADDON probably knows which comes first. From a careful induction of such “scrofulous” French novels as have come in our way, we should perhaps be disposed to say that the quarrelling does precede the adultery, because it is usual to represent an adulteress as particularly civil to her husband. But American wives may manage it differently. Ours do certainly, and therefore we leave it as a moot point. *Judicent peritiores*. There are, we dare say, among our own lady-novelists authorities on either side. Be this as it may, the doctrine of affinities, not chemical but artistic, is illustrated. Given a journalist and a general contributor to the press of Bohemia, and a married actress, and of course “becoming ‘enamoured’ on one side, and ‘returning his passion’ on the other, which is the high-polite for adultery, follows as a matter of course. But what about Mrs. M'FARLAND's husband? The authorities in such cases have a choice of arrangements; had it so happened that the journalist RICHARDSON had a wife, sensational fiction would have made the arrangement of all parties very easy. Simple barter would have met the case, or, as the poet describes it in the leading case of Mrs. HALLER:—

Her martial gallant swore that truth was a libel,
That marriage was thralldom, elopement no sin,
Quoth she, I'll remember the words of my Bible,
My spouse is a stranger, and I'll take him in.
With my sentimentalibus lachryme roar'em,
And pathos and bathos delightful to see;
And chop and change ribs à-la-mode Germanorum,
And high diddle, ho diddle, pop tweedle diddle dee.

But as there was no Mrs. RICHARDSON for Mr. M'FARLAND, though there was a Mrs. M'FARLAND for Mr. RICHARDSON, M'FARLAND had to take his own line, as there was no neighbour's wife for him to take; and he took his line, and his line was peach brandy and delirium tremens and revenge. The three famous courses were open to him. He might, which is the French solution, grin and abide it. He might abide it, and not grin, which sometimes is the English practice. As it was, he seems to have grinned, and to have grinned vengeance, and did not abide it. “Some months ago he shot at and slightly ‘injured RICHARDSON.’ The latter then publicly announced ‘his intention of marrying M'FARLAND's wife as soon as she ‘could procure a divorce.’” A divorce was accordingly “procured in the State Courts of Indiana”—a fact worth pondering, because it suggests curious speculations as to the views of the marriage-tie held by the Lord PENZANCE of those parts, as well as to the desirableness, which of late we have often discussed, of assimilating our divorce laws, like other things, to the American model. As the case stands, it seems that in Indiana adultery is not so good a

reason for divorce as the injured husband's taking a bad shot at the adulterer. Perhaps it was that the Indiana judge considered M'FARLAND's shot a contempt of court; an adultery case might always go on if no shooting is introduced into the matter, and the Court would get its fees. But if the practice of shooting, or even shooting at, adulterers is introduced, a judge has reason to complain that his jurisdiction and perquisites are interfered with.

Be this as it may, M'FARLAND's bad practice with the revolver only made him drink harder, or, as it is more prettily said, "the devoted husband, maddened by his woes, plunged 'still deeper in dissipation,' and at last 'shot him (RICHARDSON) across the 'counter of the *New York Tribune*;' and a very poetical justice it was, to pistol a 'journalist' on the scene of his successes, a journal office. Though the wound was mortal, the adulterer lived some days, and his last hours were soothed by the enjoyment of what we believe is called a perfect ovation. He became, what indeed he always was, a hero; he was fêted, and gave fêtes, at the Astor House; he was 'interviewed' and 'held a levée'; while the enraged husband was cruelly 'dragged to a felon's cell,' the delightful adulterer was bulletined and telegraphed and caressed and waited upon by Mrs. M'FARLAND, to whose devotion Queen ELEANOR's was nothing. Universal sympathy was with this interesting pair; universal execration was poured on the husband. But this was not all. Religion came in at the last hour, and he was sent to heaven a married man, and fortified by the benedictions of 'the Church,' and it is satisfactory to learn on his own testimony that he had made it all right in both worlds—his last words addressed to 'his wife' being:—'My darling, I am going to take you into infinite space and 'glory.'

Now let us put a case somewhat parallel to this amazing history. Mr. RICHARDSON the journalist of course thought that to all intents and purposes Mrs. M'FARLAND was free to marry, and that he was free to marry her, the essence of the marriage contract consisting in the fact of their mutual adultery. This was just the late Mr. HINSON's view of marriage. Mr. HINSON, to be sure, was hanged—we beg pardon, we ought to have said, as we once heard it euphemistically expressed—Mr. HINSON was the gentleman who had the misfortune to slip off a scaffold last Monday morning and break his neck while talking to a clergyman in the City, and this accident happened to him because he entertained, and acted on, these very views of marriage. He happened to have a wife, but he thought proper to dissolve his marriage by adultery, and consistently treated his paramour as his wife. Now what if, after killing 'the destroyer of his domestic peace,' he had not shot, as he was foolish enough to do, his unmarried wife, but had 'in the felon's cell' gone through a ceremony of marriage with her? what would be thought of the clergyman officiating at a mockery of religion so grotesque and nauseous? And yet this is precisely what Mr. RICHARDSON and Mrs. M'FARLAND, and 'the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, assisted 'by the Rev. Mr. FROTHINGHAM,' did. We shall not transcribe the revolting and blasphemous details of this clinical wedding. Enough to quote one reverend gentleman's solemn preliminary prayer invoking a blessing on adultery, 'Father, we thank Thee for what these two have been 'to each other.' The nuptial benediction was given by Mr. BEECHER in the most extravagant and pleonastic and ultra-ecclesiastical phrase; and the most sacred blessings were showered 'by the authority of the Church' on 'a wife, sacred 'and honoured,' and 'a husband, her head in the Lord.'

We commend this 'ceremony short and simple, but,' as the *Tribune* very truly goes on to remark, 'deeply impressive and affecting,' to the attention of some among ourselves. Especially with all reverence, be it said, to the revisers, official or non-official, of the English Prayer-Book. Some precisians and pedants among the clergy, we believe, feel some difficulties as to using our marriage service in the case of a *divorcée* or a *divorcé*. Why not borrow this BEECHER Use? It has a very ecclesiastical twang; indeed the formula embodies a good deal more of priestly authority than any ritual known to us. That sublime phrase, 'By the authority given 'me by the Church of CHRIST, I do pronounce you husband 'and wife,' beats the English rite, as the Americans would say, by long chalks. We can only recall one marriage service occasionally used among us for persons one or both of whom happened, like Mrs. M'FARLAND, to be encumbered by a lawful spouse. The marriage we speak of was not, to be sure, graced by a couple of clergymen, nor was the nuptial benediction couched in strictly religious terms. We are speaking of a marriage ceremony now falling perhaps into disuse, but which certainly was in vogue less than a century ago,

especially in Whitefriars, and was popularly known as a broomstick marriage. We are not sure, considering the personal character of the parties to the New York wedding, that even the simple language of Alsatia would have been very inappropriate. The rite consisted in the ceremony, 'short 'and simple, but deeply impressive,' of the couple, preferring the sort of union cemented in the persons of Mr. RICHARDSON and Mrs. M'FARLAND, jumping over a broomstick in succession, whilst the WARD BEECHER of the occasion, usually, a coalheaver, pronounced this brief, but 'affecting,' benediction,

Jump rogue, jump whore,
Man and wife for evermore.

GREAT MEN AND MORALITY.

IT is a frequent and, within certain limits, a very fair charge against the picturesque school of modern historians that they deify the successful sinner and despise the unfortunate saint. It is the natural tendency of the genuine hero-worshipper to overlook the considerations which we ordinarily apply in judging contemporary characters. We do not, or at least we should not, respect a man the more because he makes a fortune by commercial frauds on a grand scale, instead of going to prison for picking pockets of half-crowns. The crime is the same in both cases, and should be condemned by the same standard. On the same principle the monarch who seizes his neighbour's territories without just cause is a criminal in the same sense as the pickpocket, and does incomparably more mischief. Frederick's action in appropriating Silesia should be judged on the same grounds as Bill Sykes's most successful strokes of burglary. But Mr. Carlyle, it is said, is so dazzled by the splendour of his hero's success that he manages to apologize for his enormities, and to present him for our homage in a perfect blaze of panegyric.

The criticism is a very fair one, and the assumption upon which it proceeds may be unreservedly granted. A king or a nation is as much bound to be honest as a costermonger, though it must also be observed that honesty in international relations has not been so clearly defined as in the common concerns of life. The heroes may have the benefit, whatever it is, of the uncertainty which surrounds almost every question of morals in general politics. Granting this, however, there is still a difficulty which requires consideration. Frederick, we may assume, acted wrongly in appropriating Silesia; we may further assume that he acted wrongly even after making allowance for the incompleteness of the analogy between questions of dominion and questions of private property. But we may still suppose (we do not of course assert the fact) that the aggrandizement of the Prussian monarchy was of essential service to Germany and to the general interests of Europe. To be fair, we must make the service as prominent as the crime. Frederick, we should in that case say, injured his soul for the good of his country. He committed a sin, but the world was the better for it. If this is frequently the case with heroes, it becomes rather difficult to avoid praising them for immoral actions; and that something of the kind is true may be argued with much plausibility. Mr. Buckle, for example, asserted that the worst evils of the world are caused by the good intentions of its rulers. An ignorant ruler, he said—and most rulers are grossly ignorant—with good intentions and supreme power to enforce them, has always done far more evil than good. In proportion to the extent of his power and the strength of his motives the evil became enormous. If some alloy of selfishness could be mixed with his goodness, his power and the evils resulting from its use would be diminished. But if he has no fear, if he is entirely unselfish, if his sole object is the good of others, you have no check upon him, no chance of playing off his vice against his ignorance, and there are therefore no limits to the calamities which he may inflict. The instances which may be alleged in support of this apparent paradox are obvious. Persecution of religious opinions has been one of the most cruel evils inflicted upon the world, and from the days of Marcus Aurelius downwards the most energetic persecutors have been the most virtuous rulers. A man with an unhesitating faith in his creed, and with a sublime disregard of practical consequences, would naturally burn, imprison, and torture with an energy proportioned to his zeal for the highest interests of mankind. The essentially degrading system of the Inquisition was worked by men of the loftiest motives and the purest character. If by any turn of the wheel we could see similar principles once more in power, every one can point to the men who would be the most energetic of spiritual tyrants. They are precisely the gentle, pure-minded zealots, who have sacrificed their own private interests to motives which the vulgar cannot comprehend, and would be almost equally ready to sacrifice to them the lives and limbs of their fellow-creatures. Or, to take a more recent example, every one admits that few kings have ever done so much mischief in the same space of time as George III. He, more than any one, alienated half the English-speaking race from the Mother-country; perpetuated the injustices from the consequences of which Ireland is still suffering; and maintained every obsolete restriction, till it became absolutely intolerable. He did the mischief just because he was about the most perfect type known of the most mischievous class of mortals, the wrong-headed conscientious man. The injury he committed

was precisely proportioned to the degree in which he could raise himself above the huckstering politics of his generation, and was consequently "too fond of the right to pursue the expedient." That is, in short, the contrast which constantly puzzles the hero-worshippers. They see that the absence of principle which causes ordinary people to call the hero wicked enables him to overleap the petty barriers which have been erected for ordinary cases, and to pursue the great interests of mankind regardless of the scandal caused to shallower minds, and of the damage resulting to the codes of rules which have been formed out of the ordinary prejudices of his contemporaries. His intellect pierces below the surface, and though it may not be able to construct a satisfactory theory, refuses to sacrifice the permanent interests of the race to the dogmas of theologians or the abstract right of jurists. How far this explanation may be valid in any particular case must be a difficult question for investigation. Whether, for example, Caesar simply pursued the natural dictates of a selfish ambition, or really saw that the time for the old formulæ was passed away, and that a new construction was required for a new order of things, must be left to careful historians. There will always be many difficult questions of casuistry in times when established theories conflict with the inevitable "logic of facts"; and still more difficult critical questions as to the nature of the motives animating the foremost actors and the degree in which they foresaw the results of their own conduct.

It is plain, however, that the difficulty is much increased by a persistent mixing up of two totally distinct questions. It is generally assumed, both by his friends and enemies, that to defend the actions, for example, of Cromwell is the same thing as to defend the purity of his motives. Royalists invariably accused him of hypocrisy, because they held that his actions were essentially wicked. Their antagonists defended him because they thought that his actions were as plainly good. Both of them made the obviously erroneous assumption that his own view of his conduct must be the same as theirs. There is nothing absurd in supposing that he gave to the nation precisely what it most needed, though he gave it from selfish motives, because his own interests accidentally coincided with those of the nation. Nor is it absurd to suppose that he established a thoroughly vicious system because he was animated by a genuine fanaticism. Nobody supposes in modern politics that all the virtue is on the right side, and all the vice on the wrong. Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli are, as we all know, both actuated exclusively by the loftiest patriotism, and the most ardent desire to do good; yet, as either came into power, he would pursue a policy diametrically opposite to that of his rival. One of those courses would necessarily be mischievous, and possibly both; but it would be the height of absurdity to charge the evil result upon the bad intentions of the Minister. Why should we not extend the same charity to historical persons, and admit the good or the bad result of particular Governments without condemning or worshipping those who brought them about? Indeed, for many purposes, the question of motive may be altogether omitted; it is a question rather for the biographer than for the historian, and though their spheres of duty may occasionally coincide, there is a wide distinction between their ultimate objects. More than this, it is plain that in many cases the intellect of a ruler is of far more importance to his subjects than his virtues. There are times when the main object of true patriots should be to secure a vigorous form of government, and to put a stop to the encroachments of chaos. At such epochs it matters comparatively little whether the ruler seizes power from patriotic motives or from selfish motives. A man of great ability, whether good or bad, is generally anxious above all things to secure a system which will work; and such a system may be the most vital need of the people. Richelieu may have attacked the French nobility because he was spiteful or of a naturally despotic temper, but it was desirable that their power should be broken, whatever special causes might lead to the result. The injustice in such cases extends only to the persons immediately affected, and the benefits to the great mass of the people are substantially obtained by any course which secures the desired result. When the apples are ready to fall, it does not matter who shakes the tree. The sooner they come down the better, though avarice or private enmity may chiefly animate the shaker. A great man is simply a great force, and when he sets the world in motion the catastrophe will be shaped by the wants of the people most affected. The man of great intellect feels that, with a view to his own interests, if for no higher reason, it is necessary to have as large a bulk of supporters as possible on his side, and therefore he tries to minister to some very general need. He knows the secret of magnifying his apparent influence by pushing the world in the direction in which it is naturally propelled, instead of spending his force uselessly in supporting some obsolete crotchet. His worshippers have rightly insisted on the importance of such an instinct and on its beneficial results to mankind; but they have foolishly undertaken to prove the unnecessary and, indeed, palpably erroneous corollary that the men who have done what was wanted have done it because they believed it to be right. Their critics, in denouncing very forcibly the consequent confusion of all morality, have blundered equally into the assumption that the labours of a bad man must necessarily lead to bad results.

Nor is there anything of an immoral tendency in fully admitting the benefits conferred by selfish persons. All morality necessarily assumes that we cannot calculate the consequences of particular actions. If we could distinctly assert that the murder of a particular man, taking in all the direct and indirect results, would on the

whole do more good than harm, we should find it hard to explain why he should not be murdered. We, therefore, lay down general rules, the universal observance of which brings out a clear balance of good, though obedience to them sometimes does harm and a breach of them sometimes does good. It is no objection to morality that many criminals have, in spite of their intentions, conferred much good upon mankind. Nor is it to be doubted that, given equal amounts of enlightenment, a good ruler does less harm than a bad one. Even in such cases as that of persecution, where bad actions seem to be the necessary result of great virtues, there is something to be said on the other side. Persecution might proceed from a superstitious belief in certain dogmas; but it might also proceed from the most selfish desire of power on the part of the persecutors. Bad men persecuted as well as good; though the obvious selfishness of the practice might bring the practice more quickly into discredit. The conscientious scruples of George III. were the cause of long-continued injustice; but the evils were due as much to the narrowness of his morality as of his intellect. If his sympathies had been wider and his hatred of oppression stronger, his obstinacy would have been diminished as effectually as by a diminution of his conscientious zeal. His faults were due as much to the absence of some virtues as to the presence of others. All that the argument proves is that a devotion to lofty principle may in many cases be productive of serious evils. But it remains equally true that the absence of public spirit in the rulers, or of a belief of the people in their public spirit, is the most serious disease to which a government can be subject. However many evils have been inflicted by misguided zeal, they are not to be compared to the evils which follow from a general opinion that zeal is a folly, and that faith in great ideas is not to be expected in a member of a government. Even the worst creed has generally some sound element about it, which may diminish its injurious influence. The real question raised is not whether bad men or good ones make the best rulers; but whether it is not necessary that a ruler should have qualifications which are of even more importance to his people, if not to himself. Nobody denies that an artist ought to be honest, though it is of still more importance that he should be skilful; and though we have generally denied the principle in practice, it will not be denied that in theory government is an art which requires much learning, and even some knowledge and experience. It is not true, though it is often assumed, that a blind instinct for doing good is enough in itself to dispense with any intellectual merits. But when we once perceive this fact, we shall not be shackled by the assertion that a good stupid governor may do much harm and a bad one much good, just as a dissipated surgeon may perform an operation much more effectually than a good Christian who has never used a knife.

PHYRNE AND IPHIGENIA.

WE wonder whether any of our readers ever see a paper called "The Queen, the Lady's Newspaper." To those who do not we earnestly recommend its study. A large part of it is indeed devoted to those female mysteries from which we instinctively shrink, as from all other great matters which are too high for us. The column headed "Our Coloured Fashions" can hardly, since the unfortunate murder of Publius Clodius, expect to find a male critic fitted to do justice to it. But there are other parts of the paper which come more nearly within the ken of us unprivileged members of the rougher sex. There are columns of the *Queen* which, we can assure our friends, will supply them with reading very nearly equal to that of the *Family Herald*. This last indeed is our special favourite. It is a white day when we light on a number, still more when, as has now and then been our luck, we have lighted on a whole file of numbers together. This last privilege, we may add, is most likely to be enjoyed in the best parlour of a country inn. At such moments we feel ourselves carried away from this dull nineteenth-century England, and we fancy ourselves translated to a Provençal Court of Love in the days of chivalry. The Editor of the *Family Herald* seems to have as many female admirers as Richardson himself, and he seems to be trusted by them to resolve the most delicate of queries. May a young lady walk home from a party with a young gentleman to whom she is not engaged? May a young lady allow herself to be kissed by a young gentleman to whom she is engaged? On this last problem we will venture an opinion of our own. We think that she may, provided that the young gentleman, like the Scotch minister in the like case, asks a blessing before and returns thanks after. Now the *Queen* does not undertake to answer questions so deep as these; still it has its columns of "Notes and Queries," from which a good deal of very valuable matter may be picked up. Some departments indeed are beyond us. "The Boudoir" is not for such as we, and in "The Housekeeper," if we are a little more at home, it is only a little; "The Work-Table," that special altar of the Bona Dea, is to us even more mysterious than "The Boudoir." At last we light on a department headed "Literary Notes and Queries"; here we breathe more freely; we have made our way to something more like the worky-day life of a Saturday Reviewer. We have enough of the milk of human kindness about us to sympathize with the "Mother" who asks "Will any one recommend a book of poetry, not purely religious, fit for a boy of eight years old to learn by heart?" We feel a languid curiosity when E. P. C. asks where—we suppose we must say "she"—can get—no, "procure"—a bibliographical treasure somewhat vaguely described as "an old copy of *Æsop's Fables*

with black and white pictures." "Almanzor" says, "Many years ago I read a book translated from English into a *Continental language*." As all Continental languages, from French to Kamtschatkan, seem to be here put on a level, we can only guess that Almanzor is a descendant of Lord Bateman, who set forth with such sublime indifference,

Some foreign country for to see,

and who seems to have found himself in "fair Turkey" without any special purpose of going to that part of the world more than to any other. Then there is a "Querist" who asks, not unnaturally, "What was the good news, and who was the person who brought it?" but who to this praiseworthy beginning un- luckily adds "as mentioned in *Hood's* poem." Then there is Zoe, who would "feel obliged for a list of French books suitable for young ladies to read," and who is specially anxious to know whether certain works of Dumas come under that head. But far more comprehensive, far more touching, is the appeal made by "Ogles" to the encyclopædic knowledge of the Editor of the *Queen*. "My education having been much neglected, I am very anxious to improve myself. Could you tell me of some books on all subjects that I could improve myself by reading?" The state of mind of one who seemingly knows nothing and is anxious to know everything is really not a matter for laughter; yet we cannot help wishing that Ogles had lived in the days of the Royal Academies Company and had drawn one of those prizes which, as Lord Macaulay says, entitled "the fortunate holders to be taught, at the charge of the Company, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, conic sections, trigonometry, heraldry, jappanning, fortification, book-keeping, and the art of playing the theorbo." Lastly we come to a Querist who signs herself "Europe," and under the head of "Mythology" asks "Can you direct me how to acquire a knowledge of Phryne, Cephalus and Procris, Charon, Iphigeneia, Acis and Galatea, &c.?" Is any work published on the subject?" Before we come to the answer, let us try to conceive the process of acquiring a knowledge of Iphigeneia. On that subject a work, or rather two works, have certainly been published in the form of two tragedies of Euripides. If a personal knowledge of Iphigeneia is what Europe wishes for, we can only suggest that a personal knowledge of Charon would seem to be needed as the first step, and we should counsel Europe presently to get ready her two oboli to pay for her voyage *εἰς ὄραν πόντος*; or, Europe being Europe, why should she not once more mount boldly on the back of her own bull, and swim forth after all these worthies, if not *εἰς παρὰ πύριν νῆσον*, at least *εἰς παρὰ πύριν εὐρυπύριν*? At all events, to judge from the first chorus in the Agamemnon, a personal acquaintance with Iphigeneia, if such a privilege could anyhow be got at, could not fail to be highly agreeable and improving, but a personal acquaintance with Phryne would seem to be quite another kind of thing. Europe's wish for a knowledge of Phryne seems really as strange on the part of a well-regulated young lady as her other wish, recorded by Horace, to wander naked among lions. Indeed even a book published on the subject of Phryne would seem to belong to a very questionable class of literature, and one by no means answering Zoe's notion of books suitable for young ladies to read. As for Acis and Galatea, they at least have a book all to themselves, an oratorio on that subject having been published by G. F. Handel. As for Kephalos and Procris, the means of obtaining a personal acquaintance with them is the easiest of all. If we may trust the Comparative Mythologists, the prettiest way of making friends in that quarter is to go through the old ceremony of bathing in May-dew. As to the "Acis" we decline all attempts to make any suggestion on a subject so vague and dangerous; the "et cetera oath" has always been looked on by the best constitutional writers as a distinct breach of the rights of Englishmen.

Poor Europe! we do not wish to be hard upon her, though in her innocence she does wish for a knowledge of Phryne, and though in her further innocence she looks on Phryne as a mythical personage. An austere moralist might perhaps wish that Phryne and all her class were mythical personages. But what shall we say to the guide whom Europe has chosen? If she had lost the brotherly care of Cadmus, she would have been far safer had she kept to the guidance of her bull, and not have trusted herself to the leading of the Editor of the *Queen*. It is to be noticed that, of all the "Literary Queries" in the number before us, this one of Europe is the only one which is honoured with a direct editorial answer. All the rest are left to be answered by sister correspondents, Puscat, Ada, Church and State, Experientia Docet, and a more mysterious member of the order who signs herself "Cherie-matiff." The Editor does not venture to give "Ogles" any wrinkles as to the books "on all subjects" by which she may improve herself; such guidance might perhaps call for some one of the stamp of Samuel Johnson, "a robust genius, framed to grapple with whole libraries." Or some might have been tempted into sending "Ogles" not to many books on all subjects, but to one book on all subjects at once, and have referred her to the little volume called "Enquire within upon Everything." But the Editor of the *Queen* does not affect omniscience. One subject, of all the subjects asked about, seems to come within the editorial purview. "All subjects" may be too hard a nut to crack at once, but advice about one subject so trifling and obvious as that of mythology may be dashed off by any one offhand. Poor Europe's ingenuous strivings after a more intimate acquaintance with Phryne and Iphigeneia are met at once with the terse and decisive piece of counsel—"Consult Lemprière's Classical Dictionary." We really feel our-

selves carried back to the days before Kronos and the Moon. We do live and learn. But for the lucky chance by which we lighted on this number of the *Queen*, we might never have known that there were people in December 1869—people who deemed themselves capable of giving answers to "Literary Queries"—to whom Lemprière's Classical Dictionary is the one sum total of Greek and Roman mythology, very likely of Greek and Roman history also. This is really a new light, and one worth getting hold of. Mr. Keightley opened the way years ago to a scientific, if not strictly comparative, method of mythologic study, and he threw it withal into the form of a very beautiful and attractive book. Then Dr. Smith published his Dictionaries, where everything about Phryne and Iphigeneia, and &c. to boot, stands open to Europe and the rest of the world. Then, when the Comparative era had fully dawned, Mr. Cox told his Tales, which, if they have not yet reached the Editor of the *Queen*, may at least be bought in a foreign guise at the railway bookstalls of France. But there are people, people who seemingly think that they know what Mythology is, to whom all this is simply as though it had never been. Our copy of Lemprière is the second edition, bearing date "just seventy years and seven ago," when the head of Louis the Sixteenth was still on his shoulders. Most likely there are later editions; indeed the reference in the *Queen* almost proves it; we can hardly fancy its Editor fumbling away among books printed in 1792. There is a Student's Hume; Mangnall's Questions have found an editor; we saw a live copy of Entick's Dictionary only a day or two back; so there may very likely be a Student's Lemprière. If so, we hope that some kindly Bowdler has brought it to a state answering Zoe's description of books suitable to be read by young ladies. In our copy it is very well suited for young ladies of the school of Phryne, but not at all for those of the school of Iphigeneia, which we assume to be also the school of Europe. When we read, not only our natural Homer, but either Mr. Keightley or Mr. Cox, we feel that it must have cost Dr. Lemprière a good deal of trouble to make the Greek stories nasty, but at any rate he has thoroughly succeeded. The tale of Kephalos and Procris in Mr. Cox's hands is all grace and purity; in those of Mr. Keightley the offensive passage is most ingeniously veiled; in Lemprière it takes a form fit only for the boudoir of Phryne, or rather for the Court of William Rufus after the lights were put out. What books are suitable or not suitable for young ladies to read is a question which often turns on distinctions too subtle for us. Still, as we should not send a Europe of our own to an unbewildered set of Aristophanes or Brantome, so neither should we send her to Lemprière. The solemn and yet suggestive gravity with which Lemprière tells a licentious story is every whit as bad in its own way as the chuckle with which Brantome would have told it.

After all Dr. Lemprière had one excuse. Neither Mr. Keightley nor Mr. Cox believes the stories which he tells; Dr. Lemprière seemingly did. At least he describes the amours of Zeus—or, as he of course calls him, Jupiter—in language which seems to be token a faith as undoubting as any that he could give to the amours of Antonius and Cleopatra. In classing Phryne and Iphigeneia together, Europe and the Editor of the *Queen* may at least quote the authority of Lemprière. If he does not make Phryne as mythical as Iphigeneia, he at least makes Iphigeneia as historical as Phryne. Lemprière's method of dealing with his characters, mythical and historical, is best summed up in Lord Macaulay's admirable parody:—"Jones, William, an eminent Orientalist, and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Judicature in Bengal—Davy, a fiend, who destroys ships—Thomas, a foundling, brought up by Mr. Allworthy."

Such is the guidance to which the unlucky Europe is handed over by the oracle of her own choice. Victims have sometimes to be sacrificed for the public good, and it is really worth knowing that there are people who go to Lemprière even now. To fathom any of the depths of human ignorance is always profitable, and we thank the Editor of the *Queen* for one of our best finds in that way.

THE EMPLOYMENT OF CHILDREN AND WOMEN IN AGRICULTURE.

III.

WE once took occasion to point out the erroneous construction given to the term, and the unreasonable expectations founded on the extension of "general education." The same precipitate conclusions on which we then remarked, and which inferred that a system of schooling could put the poorer on an equal footing with the richer classes in the towns, seem to have been adopted by many sensible persons with regard to the country. Even the Commissioners—to judge by the phrases which they use themselves or quote from others—seem to be carried away by the same sort of enthusiasm. Now nothing is more easy than high-flown indignation or scathing contempt for the stupidity which cannot appreciate, or the selfishness which will not provide for, the education of the dull, the ignorant, and the vicious. And the sarcasm becomes more easy when the conditions of the case are worked out of a man's own inner consciousness rather than from the data of experience. It is so easy to contrast the dull, apathetic, sluggish-minded bumpkin, ignorant and careless of the phenomena by which he is surrounded, with the child of affluence, whose mind has been drilled and cultivated by a succession of books, governesses, and tutors. "Here," says the enthusiast, "you have knowledge and taste—a lively observation

and appreciation of life and its duties, of nature and its phenomena; there a semi-savage indifference to all that is wonderful in nature and seemly in life." And he forthwith proceeds to expound his homily that schools and schoolmasters would correct the great disparity. To us this reasoning seems very hasty. In the first place, the rustic labourer is not always such a bumpkin as he is represented to be. Those who are familiar with English country life know well enough that a good, steady labouring man is devoid neither of observation nor of reflection. Compare him with the average peasant of Northern and Central France and of Rhenish Prussia, and, though his volubility may not be so remarkable, his knowledge is not less exact nor his intelligence less sound than theirs. In some districts and under certain circumstances he is indeed unobservant and unreflective, sluggish and apathetic; but the causes of this condition, though they co-exist with, do not result from, absence of school-teaching. There are places and conditions in and under which the English peasant, though he has not had much "larning" at school, grows up a

Rusticus, abnormis sapiens, crassaque Minervâ.

He knows how to observe correctly and how to infer logically, and, though he may not put it in such big words as educated folks do, his philosophy is not a whit less profound than theirs. Such a man comes of course of a good race; he is more commonly Northern than Southern; and, what is more than all besides, his education has been one more of circumstance than of books. He has lived under good landlords and good employers. His forefathers have lived under the same. His cottage has been a home fit for decent and self-respecting folks, not a sty for human animals to pig in. His father has had his plot of ground and raised his own vegetables. His mother has gone to field-work, not all the year round, but at certain seasons; not in gangs or with the refuse of the parish, but with other reputable women like herself. He has had some teaching from the village schoolmaster, and more from the rector's, or squire's, wife. His sisters have gone at early ages into the families of the squire or the clergyman or the better class of neighbouring farmers. He has imperceptibly imbibed notions of right conduct, industry, and integrity from all the surrounding circumstances of his life, and has, with a little book lore, learned the more important lesson of principle and self-control. He might perhaps be plucked at some of the not very difficult "standards" proposed by the Inspectors of Schools; but he would find himself always sure of situations in which diligence, trustworthiness, and observation were required. Of this class of men there have been, we are glad to say, not a few specimens in England. Our army, our navy, our police, our colonies, testify to their numbers and their value. They are proofs of the degree in which circumstances can educate men. As the Eton boy is educated not so much by the Horace which he reads and the verses which he writes, as by his association with his fellows, his participation in many games, and the collective public opinion of a great school, so is the typical English labourer educated by the influences of his early home, the character of his parents, and the protective care of his superiors. We do not say that regular and systematic attendance at school would not still further enhance these advantages. But we do say that the man's career in life proves how much may be acquired without regular schooling at all.

On the other hand, imagine an entirely different condition of things. Suppose a school in a village such as is described in parts of the evidence taken by the Commission—a village where there is no great resident proprietor, no rich or superior farmer—where most of the cottages have been erected by poor speculators greedily to get the highest return for their investment—cottages with three rooms each, ill-drained, ill-ventilated, out of repair, with unwholesome smells floating in the chambers and unwholesome damp oozing through the walls—insufficient for the accommodation of the tenants, yet containing lodgers in addition; cottages where the father and mother, sons and daughters, and male lodgers, are huddling promiscuously every night. In such a village and in such a community—of which we have far too many specimens—what good is a school likely to effect? We know that there have been, and that there are, educational giants—men with the spirit of hero-martyrs—whose energy and enthusiasm could kindle fire in the dulllest clods of earth. But we have no right to count on such men as the trainers of our rustic youth. We can only reckon on average men, with average ability, energy, and conscientiousness. What could these men effect in such a place and such a society? The children would come ill-fed and ill-clad from a home where "larning" was scoffed at; where decent manners and decent language were unknown, or known only to be derided and despised; where cleanliness of appearance was undreamed of, and where the whole character of life was savage. What would be the success of a master with such pupils? They had been compelled, we assume, to attend the school; but how could they be compelled to learn? Suppose that the attendance was given ungrudgingly during that part of the winter in which no outdoor occupation could be followed and no money earned by the children, what would be the actual fruits of the schooling? What percentage of children would try to master the hieroglyphics of the dingy and well-thumbed books put into their hands? How many would have the slightest curiosity to acquire a knowledge which they were always hearing derided at home? And then as to those civilizing fruits which education is usually assumed to produce, what chance would there be of seeing them, gathered?

How could one teacher—unsupported by the influence of squire and clergyman, unassisted by intelligent farmers—teach civility and purity to a mob of young imps who issued every morning from houses in which they saw only impurity and dirt, and heard nothing but obscenity and oaths? We are here supposing only the case of a boys' school. But if there were also a girls' school in the village we are describing, and if, according to the thoughtless and vicious practice so often followed, it were built in close proximity to the boys' school, then we should have all the profligacy of these wretched homes transplanted and repeated in the building intended for juvenile teaching and improvement. So long as the children did attend the school their instruction would be scanty, languid, and unprofitable; and, when the season of outdoor employment came, it would cease altogether. Fathers and mothers would at once rebel against a system which deprived them of what they deemed their own property, the earnings of their children; and the children would rebel against a tedious confinement which kept them away from the open fields and the congenial gate-stile.

We have described a village and a society far worse than the average of English villages, but one of which—thanks to the Poor-law and the shortsightedness of farmers—there are still too many specimens in England. We have taken this extreme sample because it illustrates our position. The real elevation—the true education—of the English agricultural labourer must come, not primarily from schools, but from the social influences which direct his material condition. The village which we have been imagining is one of those "open" villages whither, thirty years ago, the law of settlement and the timidity of landowners drove the labouring poor of the country districts. These villages were free from the control, and therefore deprived of the care, of rich proprietors. A hungry tribe of speculators appropriated them as the sites of cottages for the labourers driven from the more favoured, but restricted, villages on large estates. Houses such as we have described were run up, and a race such as we have imagined grew up in them. The true cause of the squalor, degradation, and barbarism of such a village is to be found in the utter neglect and abandonment to which it has been doomed. It has vegetated remote from the influences of superintending power and civilizing wealth. There has been no great proprietor, no "hall" or "great house," no squire's lady, no rector, no rector's lady, no farmer, no farmer's wife, to encourage the good, to rebuke the idle or depraved, to care for the aged and infirm, to look after the children. There has been one dead level of utter ignorance, forlornness, discomfort, savageness, and vice. The one good feature which has not been blotted out of the characters of these poor people has been the love or habit of work. Some of them may have been thieves, many of them poachers; but still the great majority of them have gone on week after week, year after year, with their routine of work, work not immediately at hand, but to which they—men, women, and boys—had in some instances to walk three or four miles before they began to earn the wages of the day.

A village like this may be reclaimed, but the schoolmaster alone will never reclaim it. The first thing is to give the people better habitations; the next thing is, if possible, to bring people of a higher class about them; and lastly, to bring in the schoolmaster. Very little real education will be effected unless these half-barbarians are brought into contact with persons of more cultivated minds and manners than themselves, but none can be hoped for so long as they pig in the foul hovels described by many of the witnesses. Of course a village such as we have cited is not likely to attract the ordinary lovers of rural life. No one is likely to build a house there for the pleasure of residing among such inhabitants, or of preserving game for their amusement. The influence of a large proprietor will never be experienced there, and thus one civilizing agency will be lost. But the landlord, though he may not care to reside among his people, will perhaps not be careless about the state in which they live, especially in these days of Commissions and inquiries. If a school-rate is to be paid at all, he will find it better worth paying on behalf of children whom instruction will humanize, rather than for those whom it will only awaken to a sense of their present degradation. And the universal testimony of all witnesses concurs to show that no amount of book-teaching will improve the worst classes of the English rural peasantry until they are housed in cleanly homes worthy of a civilized people.

To many minds it is doubtless a matter of offence that the destinies of the English peasant should be influenced by the capricious patronage of landowners and proprietors. But it is of no use to ignore the facts of his condition. The English peasant is becoming more and more dependent on the kindness and justice of his richer neighbours. The tendencies of modern agriculture are to extend big farms and to consolidate small farms. There is little encouragement to a peasant to become a farmer. Rather, the tendency is for a small farmer to become a labourer for hire. We do not say that this is a matter for congratulation. We only say that it is a fact. Fifty years ago the "statesmen" of Cumberland and Westmoreland were the principal proprietors of land in those counties; sixty years ago large tracts of Kent, now owned by rich merchants and ex-tradesmen, were in the hands of yeomen. The yeomen and statesmen are gone or going; some are in the poorhouse, others are working for wages on the lands they once owned. This, although lamentable, is inevitable. In an age of increasing prices and improved farming small proprietors cannot hold their own against the competition of combined capital and skill. They must rise to something higher or fall to something lower than they are. As

long as they are struggling to maintain their place, they drudge more painfully than the most laborious hireling. The small "statesman" and his family are more severely worked, worse paid, worse fed, and worse educated than the Cumberland or Westmoreland farm-labourers. It is to their own advantage that they become hirelings. But it is to the advantage of the whole realm that, when they are labourers for hire, they and their children should be humanized by all the agencies of civilization and be prevented from relapsing into barbarism or from developing into a Jacquerie. And this depends less on Government schools than on the social influences which surround the poor.

FAVOURITE DISHES.

THERE was probably never a time when people made more a point of a good dinner than they do now. But we cannot read the literature of the last century without perceiving that a great change has come over the tone in which this universally interesting subject is treated. We observe a new coyness and reticence. Of course gastronomy is still warmly taken up as a science by persons indulging a particular refinement of palate, but these are not the sort of people who discussed flavours so ingeniously a hundred years ago. In our days it is science, then it was natural history. A new recondite dish of many curious ingredients is a sort of chemical discovery; pure simple flavours such as our forefathers relished in their five-year-old mutton are a gift direct from nature. All that the cook has to do is to prevent the juices and essences from escaping; he has nothing to impart, no new combinations to effect. Hence a fundamental difference of suggestion in the two styles. Nowadays it is possible to forget the quality of the meat in the dressing, but to the old scholars, who touched so naturally on these themes, beef and mutton were redolent of green fields; they were national questions, the sources of England's greatness, strengthening the thews and sinews of her soldiers, and maintaining unimpaired her scholars' digestion. It was a point of comparison at once referred to in discussing different countries. "The mutton of Lilliput," says Gulliver, "yields to ours, but the beef is excellent." Thus, in discussing the flavour of a particular sirloin, something beyond the immediate gratification of the palate was to be understood. Patriotism was aroused. Nowhere else in the world could such a sensation be procured. We feel this still when Hawthorne testifies that all America could not supply the President's table with such mutton-chops as were served up to him at Uttoxeter in a dinner charged eighteenpence. This, we maintain, is a prouder distinction than any triumph of the culinary art. The appreciation of the British mutton-chop or beefsteak awakens a finer as well as a simpler sentiment. We do not care to be a nation of cooks, but it is something to have the finest-flavoured material in the world—something for which to thank nature and the grazer.

And, beyond this, certain dishes had, in the days we speak of, a sanctity which is waning now. Mince-pies and plum-puddings were relished on higher principles than mere vulgar liking; the weight of the turkey, the magnificence of the chine, all told of something beyond, and prompted an elation befitting the sacred season. A dinner that we do not see cannot be discussed in the same terms or in the same spirit as one before our eyes. Flowers are all very well, but in future annals they will not be found recorded in the same quaint, neat, pleasant phrases—suggestive of occasions of temperate enjoyment and wise discourse—as were the trim, simple dinners of our great-grandfathers. Take, for example, the bill of fare dictated by Dr. Hurd as suitable entertainment for a man of noted learning:—

My young friend, we shall not reach you till after breakfast, and then you will give us, as usual, only a nice leg of your mutton and some turnips, a roast fowl and a plain pudding, or something only of that kind, as I do not eat anything but what is plain. I know you will expect me to drink the University of Cambridge in a bumper of your old hock. My young friend tells me he has adopted my tea rules from me. I like none so well as Twynning's Hyson, at seventeen shillings a pound; by choice, I never take any other, and, indeed, I never find it affects my nerves.

In those days it was possible to express a liking and to preach moderation at the same time.

The qualities of fruits and vegetables have ever, since Eve's table in Paradise, been a polite topic, exempt from the reproach of grossness that is apt to attach to enthusiasm for stronger meats, especially those growths which form no coarse alliance with animal viands. But still it is among worthies of the old school that we find the subject furthest removed from the vulgarity of mere common eating and liking. We have known long ago an ancient rector and his wife discuss and hang upon the flavour of an espalier apple, a choice pear, or the first fruit of an apricot-tree, with a seriousness that raised the consideration of flavour almost into a moral question. They tasted and judged, not for any personal gratification, but in the cause of horticulture, and with a view to the delectation of a long line of future rectors. Illustrating the same spirit is a letter which we have lately fallen in with of Sir Alexander Dick, etherealizing the subject of mushrooms:—

I expect [he tells his friend] after the first lightning a deluge of fine mushrooms from my sheep-walks and lands; this I have learned from observation, since I saw you; and I happily found it confirmed when I was reading the Fourth Book of Plutarch's Symposiacs. This wonderful vegetable, raised in a night by the power of lightning penetrating into the dry and warm surface of the earth where pasture is, when a drizzling shower which we know to be the conductor of this fire suddenly operates upon the seed or spawn of the mushroom, really prepares for you every morning a dish of (pardon me) celestial food! ambrosia, or whatever

you please to call it. I am raving about this! for nothing agrees so well with myself (and I can recommend it to all my friends who are marching towards or have passed their climacteric) as a small dish of these every morning before tea, prepared by my man James; toasting them well before the fire, and basting them with a little new-churned butter, and dashing them with some pepper and salt, finely pounded. The nerves of the whole man feel the immediate benefit of this ethereal dish, if taken *fasting* before tea, and it improves the relish of fine tea, and wonderfully prevents the effect of shakings and palpitations which many people find from a large use of that admirable liquid.

Not, however, that scholars confined their own efforts or personal interference to the preparation of such airy messes as salads, pippins, mushrooms, and the like. We find Hume, on his return from France, boasting of his great talent for cookery, and that nobody excels him in "beef and cabbage (a charming dish)" and old mutton. "I make also sheep-head broth in a manner that Mr. Keith speaks of for eight days after, and the Duc de Nivernois would bind himself apprentice to my lass and learn it." If he wanted any excuse, the national character of his *chef d'œuvre* would perhaps furnish it, and no doubt love of country was a motive; but no excuse is ever sought for by these primitive gourmards. It came quite naturally to them to discuss their preferences, as well as to take the readiest means of indulging them.

Probably we have not nowadays favourite dishes in the same exclusive sense as formerly. National and theological dishes, as we have said, are losing their prestige—dishes which once so satisfied the heart as well as palate that the appetite grew by what it fed on, and sentiment dictated the liking where natural inclination held back; and in fact, to bestow any exclusive devotion to a dish, you must see it. The old-fashioned host of former times, in modest depreciation of his fare, used to say to his guest, "You see your dinner." Who sees his dinner now? Where a dish is really appetizing this is a loss, but unquestionably the temptation to gormandize is diminished by the modern arrangement. The promoter of excess is one ample favourite dish which represents the dinner, rather than the knowledge of a succession in the background out of sight, suggesting the need of caution in keeping a corner for a possible ideal that never comes. The enormous excesses we read of are all stimulated by a face-to-face encounter, exciting emulation and passionate love of conquest. Had dinners *à la Russe* been the mode in Gray's time, he would not have had to tell the fate of a certain Master of Magdalen College, who in all likelihood would then have lived out his natural term, and survived his chronicler:—

Our friend Dr. Chapman [he tells Mason] is not expected here again in a hurry; he is gone to the grave with five fine mackerel, large and full of roe—he eat them all at one dinner. But his fate was a turbot on Trinity Sunday, of which he left little for the company beside the bones. He had not been hearty all the week, but after this sixth fish he never held up his head more.

It was clearly no mere caprice of the poet's fancy to give the siren a fish's tail, so provocative has this creature ever proved to inordinate appetite. Just lately it has come out that the immortal William III. was scarcely more proof against its blandishments than the poor Master last quoted. Mr. Cardonnell, writing from the Hague to Under-Secretary Ellis five months before the King's death, says:—

Yesterday he went to a fish dinner of Mr. Van der Esch's. It is a pity His Majesty will not be more governable and temperate in his diet. Should I eat so much and of the same kinds I daresay I should scarce have survived it so long, and yet I reckon myself none of the weakest constitutions.

And is there not that tale of royal excess so concisely and pathetically told in nursery history? "He never smiled again, and died of a surfeit of lampreys." Here, too, we may congratulate our age on the safeguard which boundless variety offers against the exceptional indulgence of a natural propensity. We too have fish dinners prodigious in their aggregate of dishes, but the profusion is out of sight, and the infinite alternative of choice renders the labour of selection a weariness before the appetite has had time to be sated by sheer quantity.

The new nomenclature of cookery is a check to the knowledge of our friends' favourite dishes which was once a part of politeness. The eccentric Lord Dudley had one homely liking—the name we forget—which he expected to find at every table; and he would mutter it over to himself if his eye sought it in vain. Old dishes are like indigenous flowers, and live in our hearts; the scientific terms of the modern cuisine are as impossible to remember as a book of botany. This ignorance has its convenience, however. People's tastes are necessarily more cosmopolitan than they were. When the great man could only enjoy one or two dishes, his caterers were often put to huge inconvenience in order to satisfy him. A book on Quakerism tells us that wherever Mrs. Fry and John Joseph Gurney went, there calves'-foot jelly must be provided for them, and there were times when the country had to be scoured for calves' feet. And Mrs. Sherwood tells a story of Henry Martyn, who, entertaining a party in India, recollected at the moment of sitting down to table to have heard her once commend some mutton-pies. To commend was, in his fancy, not to be able to dine without. He bid the servants bring some, and the dinner had to be protracted while a sheep was killed and the pies baked for her exclusive eating.

The simpler the fare the more exacting, no doubt, is the refined palate as to the mode of its dressing. We all remember Mr. Woodhouse's gruel—thin, but not too thin; and we find many people who know but one or two cooks that can boil a potato or succeed in a suet-dumpling. It is always pleasant to find this sort

of fastidiousness among the poor; their homely fare rises at once in the scale if it is capable of satisfying or disgusting a nice appetite according as some particular whim is gratified or outraged. Indeed the science of cooking never stands on a higher moral level than when some peasant wife describes with pride her husband's delicate perceptions in the matter of bacon and its attendant cabbage, what are his views on the treatment of a shin of beef, and what particular stage of growth is the only one to develop the rare and choice flavour that lurks in broad beans gathered in their moment of prime. Dishes used to be family possessions handed down by tradition; a mystery hung about them; the imagination was called in to assist. A respectful awe tempered while it enhanced the moment of fruition. The *Rambler*, we think it is, tells of an old lady who kept the secret of an orange-pudding till scarce failing breath enough was left to reveal it to her favourite daughter; and our own childhood can recall dishes with something transcendental about them. Nothing that we ever taste nowadays approaches that exquisite evanescent tawny, half taste, half odour, which recorded its existence on the memory. But we cannot enter further into this, the pathetic phase of our subject, except just to point out how much real pathos may and often does lie round the memory of some dish supreme to childish tastes, served under the direction of now silent lips, and by hands whose cunning remains to our fancy untransmitted.

SOLDIERS IN COURTS OF LAW.

PUBLIC gratitude is due to those determined litigants who compel the Courts of law to explore the obscurities of legal science, and among social benefactors of this class we must reckon Colonel Dawkins, who has lately contributed at his own expense to the elucidation of the law of privilege for libel. Colonel Dawkins, lately of the Coldstream Guards, brought an action against Lord Frederick Paulet, who, while in command of the brigade of Guards, wrote to the Adjutant-General at the Horse Guards reports concerning Colonel Dawkins, which the Colonel alleged to be false and libellous. Lord Frederick Paulet pleaded that he wrote the reports in the performance of his military duty, to which Colonel Dawkins replied that the reports were written maliciously, and without reasonable cause, and not in the *bona fide* discharge of duty. To this replication the defendant demurred, or, in other words, he contended that, even supposing it were true in fact, it afforded no sufficient answer to the plea; and thus the question is raised whether a superior officer is responsible in a Court of law for writing malicious and unfounded reports to the Horse Guards concerning an inferior officer, or whether the injured officer is left to such redress as he may obtain from a military tribunal.

The reports concerned the competency of the plaintiff as an officer, and his fitness for command. They did not affect his character as a citizen. They were written, not for circulation among the public, nor to a private person, but to the proper military authority, for the purpose of originating an inquiry into the competency of the plaintiff, and the propriety of an order which the defendant, as his superior officer, had made. Now the Mutiny Act and the Articles of War constitute a military code. This code professes to deal with the military conduct of every soldier in every department of the service. It provides for the redress of grievances as well as for the punishment of offences, and appropriate tribunals are constituted for enforcing these provisions. Can it be reasonably inferred that any other mode of redress was intended by the Mutiny Act than that which is specified in the Articles of War? The army depends for its existence in time of peace upon the Mutiny Act, and it may be fairly contended that the whole law applicable to the matters thereby provided for is to be found in it. But further, as a question of general policy, it would seem that no action ought to be allowed to be brought against an officer for maliciously doing his duty. Such an action cannot be brought against a judge, a juror, or a witness; and the reasons applicable to these cases appear to be equally applicable to the case of an officer of the army. But, on the other hand, it is urged that the privilege claimed for officers is not necessary for the efficiency of the service; and that, as that service is voluntary, it would be far more attractive to volunteers if soldiers knew that they could depend upon the protection of the Courts of law against the malicious abuse of power by their superiors. The Lord Chief Justice, being on this question opposed to the other Judges of the Court of Queen's Bench, has stated his view of it with his usual lucidity and force. It has been said by one of his predecessors on the Bench that it may be necessary that power shall be extensive, but it cannot be necessary that power shall be abused. The distinction appears theoretically sound, but it would be difficult to give it practical application. Take for instance the case, now happily uncommon in the navy, of flogging. It is evident that the operator might gratify his malice against a culprit without the possibility of being convicted of abuse of power. Speaking within limits, it would be impossible to distinguish between a flogging and a malicious flogging. The cat of course would be made of regulation size, but who shall measure the force with which it was applied? One operator may have more strength or skill than others, and it would rest with the captain, if there were several in his ship, to select the most accomplished flagellator. We have been this week edited with a description of the flogging of garrotters at Leeds, and we cannot help seeing that it might have made a considerable difference in the punishment what warder was selected to inflict it, and what temper he hap-

pened to be in. Suppose, for example, that the warder's breakfast had disagreed with him, or that he had been scolded by his wife, or even that he had been considering that he was getting stout and required vigorous exercise to keep down his fat. From these or other causes it might be very bad for the garrotter's back, and yet we fear that the Courts would not give him an action for a malicious flogging. The Lord Chief Justice, however, says that where authority has been intentionally abused, where charges are preferred which to the knowledge of the party preferring them are unfounded and unjust, where misrepresentations are made which the party making them knows to be slanderous and false, the Courts ought not to be closed against complaint. He says further that a jury, under the direction of a judge, may be safely trusted with the trial of a case in which such a complaint is made. This observation, however, hardly disposes of the question whether such an action ought to be brought. It may be true that serious complaints would be adequately investigated, but it is also true that many complaints would be made which were very trivial, and the lower species of attorney would be encouraged to exhibit its proclivity for bringing speculative actions. There were, it appears, two questions upon which the Court of Queen's Bench was divided. The first and larger question was whether, as matter of policy and expediency, such an action ought to be allowed. The second was whether, supposing such an action to be on general principles allowable, it was taken away by the passing of the Mutiny Act, which gives another remedy to an aggrieved officer. It might be expected, however, that a judge who held that the action was originally allowable, would also hold that the Mutiny Act did not take it away; and the Lord Chief Justice did so hold.

The substance of the letter forming the alleged libel was that Colonel Dawkins was incompetent in the field and unfit to conduct the business of a battalion in barracks, and further that he wanted judgment, tact, and temper. If the case had gone to trial before a jury, we may suppose that the defendant would have asserted the truth of these statements, and attempted to prove it by his own and other evidence. This would be called justifying the alleged libel. But the defendant also pleaded privilege, that is, he pleaded that he wrote the statements in the performance of his duty as commanding officer of the Brigade of Guards; to which the plaintiff replied that the statements were malicious and unfounded, and therefore were not privileged. Hereupon the defendant says in effect, that that makes no difference—because I made them in the performance of my duty. When the question comes to be thus clearly stated, we think there cannot be much doubt what the law ought to be as to allowing such a question to be discussed before a jury. A general states that a colonel is incompetent, and requests that the statement may be inquired into by a military court. It is contended that if the general made this statement without reasonable foundation, he is liable to an action; but if without making any statement he acted as if the colonel were incompetent, he would be liable to no action, although he would have committed a much greater wrong. Suppose that the battalion was in active service, and that the general maliciously directed another officer to supersede its colonel in command of it, we cannot conceive the possibility of any civil remedy for the colonel. On a celebrated occasion in the Peninsula, the Duke of Wellington called for volunteers of the Light Division who could show other troops how to mount a breach, and this summons was in writing, so that it possessed one requisite of a libel. The men of the 4th Division did indeed mention that they would shoot any volunteer who went into St. Sebastian before them, but we should have been very much surprised to hear that they contemplated proceeding in a civil Court against their general for libel. Take again the case of an attack by a ship's boats upon a vessel lying under the protection of a battery. If a captain does not fully trust his first lieutenant as competent to the command of a difficult expedition, he may employ his second lieutenant, and he may even write home a despatch stating his reason for this preference, without being liable to any action. And suppose that, instead of acting from honest judgment, he had acted from a desire to hinder the first lieutenant's promotion, that would make no difference. There were doubtless grumblers in Spain who said that the Duke favoured the Light Division unfairly. To take one more example, we may remember that in the Sikh war the public began to think that the veteran Lord Gough was somewhat too straightforward in his tactics, and the Government determined to send Sir Charles Napier to supersede him. It would be ridiculous to suggest that the propriety of that determination could be questioned in any civil Court on an allegation that it had been arrived at without good reason, and through a malicious desire to injure the reputation of Lord Gough. The more the matter is considered, the more clearly it will appear what the law ought to be, and the Court of Queen's Bench has now decided what the law is.

THE WESTMINSTER PLAY—"TRINUMVUS PLAUTI."

IN the year 1520 four French gentlemen of high rank were detained in this country as hostages for the surrender of Tournay, according to a recent treaty. For their entertainment during this official duress, King Henry, says Holinshed, "prepared a disguising, and caused his great chamber at Greenwich to be staged for the purpose." Among the performances "there was a goodly comedy of Plautus played." The representation must have been in Latin, for at the time there was no English translation of that author; and even if there had been one, the

French gentlemen would probably have been none the wiser for it.

The *Trinummus*, it will be in the recollection of some of our readers, was performed in December 1865, by the scholars of St. Peter's College—being then the first departure, for many generations, from the Terentian circle of Westminster Plays. And now again—the Terentian course having been run over—the masters and scholars of the College “prepare a disguising and stage their great chamber,” and play a goodly, but by no means the best, “comedy of Plautus”—*regis ad exemplum*. It does not appear from Holinshed whether King Henry provided on the same evening any further entertainment for his guests. If he did not, it may have been because he had no one about him able to furnish a Prologue and Epilogue, no one who could fling to an expecting audience the friendly challenge of

Saturnalia mittimus ecce nunc.

We take it for granted that the remarks that appeared in this journal on the first revival of the *Trinummus* have utterly vanished from every one's memory. Oblivion is as potent a spirit in these days as it was in Sir Thomas Browne's, who described it as going halves with memory—share and share alike—as to all things done under the sun. Yet we will not, because of men's short memories, crib from ourselves. We are not sure that such repetition would please; we would not willingly be accounted *trium literarum homines*, even though it were our own pocket that was picked. Nor indeed need we cabin or confine ourselves to a single peep at such a writer as T. Maccius Plautus. About the play itself little need be said; but a few speculations about its author may not be unwelcome at this Saturnal season.

Plautus, if he is to be estimated by the number of his admirers, still more by the number of persons who have gone to his stall for hints and precedents, has in all ages been a favourite with the learned and the people, with audiences and actors. Cicero and Quintilian, judges not easy to satisfy, applaud his style. St. Jerome, after days passed in bewailing his sins and shortcomings, took up Plautus to refresh his spirits. The learned Varro wrote a brief memoir of him, and the critical and carping Dean of St. Patrick expressed his admiration in the following lines:—

Whate'er our predecessors taught us,
I have a great respect for Plautus;
And think our boys may gather there hence
More wit and humour than from Terence.

Yet, in spite of his popularity, the common impression as to his merits is, in our opinion, not altogether a correct one. Too much credit has been given to Horace's skit at the “et numeros et sales Plautinos” by people forgetting that the Augustan satirist was just then protesting against the fashion of indiscreetly extolling the old writers, and as unjustly depreciating the recent and living writers of his age—forgetting also that very similar measure was dealt to Shakespeare himself by post-Restoration authors. Exuberant and coarse humour Plautus unquestionably exhibits, and not unfrequently rides a jest too hard or goes too far a-field for it. Yet such unchartered libertinism in humour is neither his single nor his principal quality. When occasion calls for it he can be grave, sententious, severe, and pathetic. He can at times also assume and sustain a tragic force almost inconsistent with the genius of comedy. He was aware of this double tendency in himself, since, to say nothing of other passages, he alludes to it in the prologue to his *Amphitruo*:—

Faciam, ut commista sit Tragicocomedia.

And this play is far from being the most earnest of his twenty surviving dramas. In the *Trinummus*, more than half of which is conceived in graver mood, the soliloquy of Lusiteus in the first act, on love, comes little short of Romeo's reflections on the same theme. Our “sage and serious” Milton took the hint of the attendant spirit's prologue to *Comus* from the Lar Familiaris who ushers in the plot of the *Aulularia*; nay, Dante himself, by some devious route, may have been indebted to the old Umbrian bard for one of the most striking and familiar stanzas of his Divine Comedy.

Commending to studious youth consideration of the earnest, impassioned, and pathetic, the tragico-comædic passages of Plautus, we pass to another quality which he both used and abused. He was a punster in grain. Let not our burlesque and extravaganza writers fancy themselves first in the field. To say nothing of the Athenians, who parodied even their own liturgy and never scrupled laughing at their divinities, Plautus was able to take his place with the best of them. We have room for only one sample, but it will suffice to show that Rome had her Broughs, Burnands, and Gilberts. In the *Capteivi*, which once more we commend to the *Ædile* or the *Dominus gregis* of Westminster as a play suitable to his stage, Hegio is projecting a feast in honour of his son's return from captivity. But, unhappy for the young man's absence, he has given up hospitality, and dispersed by disuse what he calls his “*edundi exercitus*,” his friends and parasites. He consults with Ergasilus, the parasite of the drama, how best he may recruit his eating-forces, and he gets this reply from the hungry satellite of the supper-table:—

Multis et multigenibus opus est tibi
Militibus, Primumdum opus est Platoriensibus;
Opus Paniceis: opus Placentinis quoque;
Opus Turdetanis: opus est Ficedulensibus;
Jam maritimi omnes milites opus sunt tibi.

Of which catena of jokes we offer a rough translation—*Plautus vortit barbare*:—

You'll need for such a levy all the soldiers you can muster,
And sundry sorts of bold recruits must round your standard cluster.
From Miller's Dale and Mill Bank gao!—it won't do to be nice, sir—
Let every “Miller and his Men” come trooping in a trice, sir;
Bakers from Baker Street attend, and all who dwell at Bakerwell,
Natives of Orington must come—and all who make a cake well;
Pie-Corner send your pastrycooks; you, Poultry, game and larky men;

And mariners from any port—White-haven men and ‘darkie’ men.

It is much to be regretted that, at a time when spirits are affable and bring tidings from their homes or lodgings in the upper or nether world, no one breathing vital air has put any question to them about Plautus, or requested the pleasure of his company at a *séance*. He could tell us a good deal which we do not find in either Polybius or Livy. He was living in the very thick of the second Punic War. He may have been helping to man the walls when Hannibal was at the gates of Rome. He could tell us what sort of visage Varro wore when he returned from Cannæ; he may have seen the orderlies, “bloody with spurring, fiery red with speed,” who brought the tidings from the Trebia and Trasimenes. That Plautus was not unobservant of what was going on about him peeps out in the *Trinummus*. He deplores the poverty of the many, the arrogance and wealth of the few. He mourns over the decay of ancient sobriety, simplicity and severity of manners. Fathers are too lenient to sons, sons too heedless of fathers. The elders find that they are fallen on evil times and evil tongues; the youngsters adopt the unwholesome maxim—“*quod lubet, licet*.” Some of these regrets may be Philemon's, for similar complaints abound in Aristophanes. Yet in Philemon's time Grecian degeneracy was an old story, and too well known and acknowledged to point a moral or adorn a tale for comedy. Whereas, not only is there a very Roman aspect in the Plautine complaint of evil days, but in the Umbrian poet's time the old Sabine manners were only beginning to be out of fashion, and the contrast was accordingly the sharper between the increasing laxity of the young and the diminishing strictness of the old. We know that Cato and the Fabii, Plautus's contemporaries, taxed Scipio and Lælius with following and aping foreign fashions. This, however, may have been as much a political difference as a moral one. All long wars are more or less demoralizing to those who are engaged in them; and some of the results of the Hannibalic war are recorded by grave historians, and perhaps hinted at by stage-poets. Among the consequences of years of battling for national existence on each side were the following:—The small farmers and free labourers were utterly ruined by the almost annual ravage of their lands by the Carthaginian Cossacks—the terrible Numidian horse. The rural population, driven into Rome or the larger towns of Italy, deprived of occupation, and with it almost of livelihood, became an idle city populace. The poor became very poor; the monied men, who could afford to buy up the ravaged small estates, grew very rich. The foundation was laid of those evils which the Sempronian laws, half a century later, were intended to remedy, and of that still graver and more critical state of society which is traced in letters of blood on the story of the social and civil wars.

Failing in spiritual instruction, we can tell just nothing of Plautus. Thanks to Cicero, we know the date of his death; and as at present not even a German *gelehrter* has proved him to have been a myth, or that he buttoned under his waistcoat half a dozen poets having the same name, we may safely conclude him to have been born, but in what year of Rome is not recorded. The little that is related of him is, at first view, not greatly to his advantage. He was, it would seem, unlucky in business, and he may possibly have had himself in mind when he wrote in the *Trinummus*:—

“Quid is? egetne?” “Eget.” “Habuitne rem?” “Habuit.” “Qui eam perdidit?”

Publicane adfinis fuit an maritumis negotiis?

Mercaturanne an venales habuit, ubi rem perdidit?”

He worked in a flour-mill; he was often to be found at the tavern; he had been at some period of his life a property-man or call-boy at a theatre. And this is the sum of his recorded doings, and even these facts have a questionable look.

The first question that presents itself is, when and how did he acquire, what he evidently possessed in large measure, his knowledge of Greek, since at the time of the Second Punic War even Juvenal could not have taxed Rome with being a “Greek city.” Ben Jonson is said to have been early in life a bricklayer, and certainly was a common soldier; but then he had, previously to handling the trowel or the sword, enjoyed the inestimable advantage of having been trained by “Camden, most reverend head” at Westminster School. The didascalia prefixed to the plays of Terence and his own prologues lift a corner of his life's curtain, and we learn from other sources that he was carefully educated by his master, and moved in the best circles of Rome. There are no such aids for Plautine history. His prologues and epilogues tell just nothing, and didascalia there are none. His birthplace, the little village of Sarsina, in Umbria, is not likely to have afforded him a teacher of Greek; and if it was to Greece that his unlucky journey on business took him, he had probably, unless he neglected that business, more to do with *portiores* and *juratores* than with play-writers or actors. This is a great mystery, and we must leave it so.

As for his working at the mill, if he did so, it is to his credit. He was earning an honest penny. Millers indeed do not bear the best of characters. The miller of Trompington was an arrant knave—*nimium graphicus nugator*. “If thou be a miller,” says Gurth, Cedric's swineherd, to his antagonist at quarter-staff,

"thou art thrice a knave." No conclusion indeed can be drawn from either of these "modern instances" as to the character of miller Maccius. He does not indeed seem to have been a mill-owner, and that may make some difference.

The tavern question has at first an ugly look. The *Trinummus* tells what sort of company Plautus was likely to meet there:—

Therichus, Cerconicus, Crinus, Cercobolus, Collabus,
Oculicrepide, cruricrepide, ferriteri, mastigia.

Yet there are precedents in both ancient and modern history for allowing some excuse for Plautus's life and conversation. First for the ancients—is it not written by Horace that

Vina fere dulces oluerunt mane Camæne.
Laudibus arguitur vini vinosus Homerus:
Ennius ipse pater nunquam, nisi potus, ad arma
Prosiuit dicenda?

Did not Ben Jonson frequent the "Mermaid" and the "Devil" taverns? and who has not heard of the company he met there; at the latter especially, in "the Apollo" room with Simon Wadlow, "the king of skinkers," for cellarer? Plautus was an Umbrian born; that region of Italy is a cold and damp one, and ague and rheumatism were supposed in those days to be kept off by strong potations. And so Plautus may have followed the wisdom of the ancients and the advice of the faculty at the same time. Stage poets indeed in all ages have led free lives. Was not Shakespeare obliged to fly the country for poaching? Did George Peele "live cleanly," as Falstaff promised to do, if he got promotion? Massinger was in constant dread of tipstafis; and Sheridan and the bottle were too familiar friends. To be particular about Plautus "were to inquire too curiously." What if he *could* carry "tria aut quatuor poteria"? Does not that excellent chronicler Horace say of a contemporary of Plautus—

Narratur et prisci Catonis
Sepe mero caluisse virtus?

Of the representation of the *Trinummus* at Westminster we need say little more than that there was scarcely need for Callicles to close it with the established *plaudite*. Plaudits, frequent and full, had attended the performance from the first to the final scene. The delivery of the actors was admirable; the stage-business carefully executed; where grouping was possible, it was appropriate and graceful; and, in short, a more satisfactory performance than that of last Tuesday and Thursday evenings it has never been our good fortune to witness in the Westminster Theatre.

The Prologue, besides the usual commemoration of the recently deceased worthies of Westminster, contains a touching appeal to "our new Governors," urging them to respect the *genius loci*, and not, among other possible changes, to lay violent hands on the annual Play. In this prayer we heartily join. Governors who would touch this time-honoured custom should be born in icy Caucasus, and suckled by Hyrcanian tigers. To confirm them in mercy, or to deter them from rash innovation, we cite a passage from the *History* of Paulus Jovius, lib. xi. :—

Eodem quoque anno—1513—Julianus Medices, Leonis frater, ab senatu populoque Romano civitate donatus est. In ejus gratiam, in area Capitolii temporarium theatrum extructum est omni picturarum varietate mirifice cultum. Egere in scena PLAUTI PENUM, decore mirabili et prisca quidem elegantia, *Romanæ juventutis lepidissimi* quique, varique extra ordinem poemata recitata (doubtless a "Prologue" and "Epilogue") floribentibus non alias fecundiore seculo Poëtarum ingeniiis.

After such an example as this, if the "new Governors" have the usual British respect for precedents, the Westminster Play is safe. They cannot fail to apply properly the words *juventutis lepidissimi*. The *Epilogue* was the *satiric* after-piece usual on such occasions. The shower of "Saturnalian nuts" was a brisk and seasonable one. The authors of these annual pleasantries can say with metamorphosing Ovid—

In nova fert animus mutatas dicere formas
Corpora—

which, being interpreted, means that Charmides, Lesbionicus, Lysiteles, and Co. appear as "modern gentlemen," in coats and waistcoats of the period, and as to nether-garments clad in a manner which the Greeks regarded as the fashion of barbarians. Yet even thus metamorphosed, the "ancient spirit" of wit was not "dead" in them, but gambolled after a fashion which would have cheered the heart of the mirth-making and mirth-loving old Sarsinate.

REVIEWS.

MR. DALLAS'S LETTERS FROM LONDON.*

ALTHOUGH it has not been usual for diplomatists to publish their correspondence within a few years after the close of the missions to which it relates, Mr. Dallas has probably satisfied himself that he is acting in accordance with the public opinion and official rules of the United States. With the exception of two or three personal criticisms which have probably escaped his notice during the process of revision, there is nothing inconsistent with perfect delicacy to his English acquaintances, though, in common with their countrymen, they may find the book rather instructive than pleasant. The

* A Series of Letters from London written during the Years 1856, '57, '58, '59, and '60. By George Mifflin Dallas, late Minister of the United States at the English Court. London: Trübner & Co.

Letters are published at Philadelphia, and they are probably intended almost exclusively for American readers who will sympathize with Mr. Dallas in his patriotic antipathies. Relating almost entirely to political matters, the Letters were addressed to Mr. Marcy and Mr. Cass when they were successively Secretaries of State, for the purpose of supplying full and miscellaneous information on subjects which were more formally treated in official despatches. It is easy to believe that Mr. Dallas's correspondents valued and encouraged communications which must have been equally interesting and useful. The Letters are written in a pure and vigorous style, relieved on suitable occasions by a tone of graceful courtesy. To his immediate superiors, to his travelling countrymen, and to occasional applicants for favours of the same nation, Mr. Dallas displays an amount of consideration, of patience, and of serviceable good-humour which would perhaps surprise an English Minister at a foreign Court. Whatever may have been his private feelings, he always assures his Government that his shoals of American visitors are welcome; and even when they make preposterous demands, he renders a refusal palatable by kindly expressions of regret. In one letter he takes the trouble to explain at length his inability to secure for a professional American lady an engagement to sing at the State concerts at Buckingham Palace, and he even assures the applicant that the omission to secure her services was not, in his opinion, a proof of national hostility to the United States. During his stay in England Mr. Dallas mixed largely in private society, where he was distinguished by unusual advantages of appearance and personal bearing. The experience of five years probably in some degree mitigated the prejudice which he seems to have entertained against the countrymen of his father and his mother; but only a short time before the close of his mission he expresses in strong language his repugnance to the system of caste, or, in other words, to the exclusive constitution of English society. In political feeling he is sufficiently American never to deviate into generosity towards England, and seldom into justice. The shallow declaimers who attribute American animosity to the conduct of England during the Civil War may learn a useful lesson from the record of the acts and feelings of a Pro-Slavery Democrat who wrote before the beginning of Secession. It is not only in the conduct of discussions with the English Government, but in comments on European transactions, that Mr. Dallas invariably gloats over every shadow of misfortune and over every passing affront which may be offered to England. Soon after his arrival, when Mr. Crampton was dismissed in a studiously offensive manner from Washington, Mr. Dallas treats his own possible removal as a sufficient excuse for a final and internecine war with England. Such an insult, he eagerly declares, would be the occasion of the fatal announcement of *Delenda est Carthago*. It is evident that, like the great majority of his countrymen, he had been educated as an enemy of England, and that the pretexts for irritation which might occur from time to time were the opportunities rather than the causes of offence. If Russia threatens Turkey, if Napoleon III. and his colonels bluster about political refugees, if Lord Palmerston is baffled in his policy in the Danubian Principalities, if the English troops in China are supposed to have been defeated in a skirmish, Mr. Dallas is always ready to remark that the greatness of England has departed, or, as he joyously exclaims, *Fuit, fuit!* At a time when English sympathy with the Confederates is insolently represented as a ground for national apology or redress, it may be convenient to cite a competent witness as proof of the notorious fact that the United States favoured the cause of Russia during the Crimean war. "I reproached Baron Brunnow," says Mr. Dallas, "with having at the Conference at Paris entered into the English project of abolishing privateers. . . . I observed to him 'See what the result is of having sympathized with Russia for two years.' It is not known that any English politician at any time suggested that a perverse and spiteful preference of the cause of the wrongdoers was a reasonable ground for war. Even in the conventional civilities of a Lord Mayor's dinner Mr. Dallas was careful to solace himself by an ill-natured purpose for the use of ostensibly friendly language. "I introduced," he tells Mr. Marcy, "a congratulation on the Peace, because I thought it would quietly and respectfully imply a perfect and cool contempt for the idea that our Government could in the slightest degree be affected in their pursuit of right by the powerful attitude in which that Peace left England." In the same speech Mr. Dallas had acknowledged that since he had arrived in London he had met nothing but a series of flattering welcomes and hospitalities for which he was almost bankrupt in thanks. There can be no doubt that at the Mansion House he had been received with a cordiality which had no background of ill-will; but it seems not to have occurred to Mr. Dallas that an after-dinner speech in answer to a complimentary toast was not the most suitable occasion for even a covert expression of defiance and cool contempt.

In the most important negotiation with which he was charged Mr. Dallas obtained a substantial triumph. The Central American dispute, though it is now forgotten, involved serious danger of collision; and the American part of the controversy was conducted in the manner with which recent discussions have made a later generation familiar. At one time Mr. Dallas advises the American Minister in Paris to dispose of the American squadron in the Mediterranean in such a manner that it may not be exposed to risk on the contingency of a sudden rupture. Mr. Dallas's French colleague and friend was no other than Mr. Mason, whose interests a few years later were not altogether identified with the proceedings

of American cruisers. The Government of the United States was bent on excluding England from the Bay Islands which were claimed by Honduras, and from the Protectorate of the Mosquito Indians on the frontier of Nicaragua. In the Central American question, as in some other disputes, formal right and imaginary interest were on the side of England, while the United States were more in earnest, and nearer to the territories which were the subject of discussion. The English title to the Protectorate, having been inherited from the freebooters of the seventeenth century, was highly questionable; and the King who was supposed to be protected was a helpless savage who gave away entire provinces to maritime adventurers who from time to time acquired his confidence or obtained possession of his person. There were also doubtful questions connected with the sovereignty of the Bay Islands, but originally the American Government had no legal right to interfere on behalf of the Central American States, which would themselves perhaps have been open to argument, or to considerations of material advantage. When Mr. Dallas arrived in England, it had become necessary to interpret or to amend a treaty concluded a few years before by Mr. Clayton, then Secretary of State, and Sir Henry Bulwer, English Minister at Washington. After one of his earliest interviews Mr. Dallas bursts into a violent and unjust invective against the proceedings of Lord Clarendon in the matter of Mr. Crampton; but he soon recognised the conciliatory disposition of the Foreign Secretary, who had probably arrived at the sound conclusion that the Mosquito Protectorate was a worthless absurdity, and that it was not either for the interest or in the power of England to prevent the United States from exercising a preponderating influence over the central parts of the continent. Eventually Mr. Dallas obtained, almost as fully as Mr. Reverdy Johnson at a later period, all the concessions which he required; but it is the pleasure of American politicians to make deference to their Government as difficult and disagreeable as possible, by habitually following up advantages by fresh demands. The Central American treaty was wantonly altered by the Senate in such a manner that the English Government was compelled to abstain from proceeding further with the negotiation. Mr. Dallas was naturally disappointed at the waste of his labour; but afterwards the dispute was finally terminated in general accordance with the provisions of his treaty. The other differences between the two Governments were trivial, with the exception of the disputed claim to the island of San Juan. Mr. Dallas was always positive that his Government was in the right, and always ready for an unnecessary appeal to force; but there is no reason to suppose that his communications embittered the relations of the two countries which are so strangely connected by one-sided friendship. If an expression of his own may be borrowed, the snarling and arrogant tone of American diplomacy had produced its natural impression when the Northern States suddenly appealed to the sympathy of England. If the people of the United States had favoured the cause of justice in the Russian war, it is probable that the plausible pretensions of the Confederate Government would have been more severely examined.

To English readers who are not repelled by the carping and sneering manner of an American narrator, Mr. Dallas's letters will supply a convenient summary of political events which, like all histories of a dozen years ago, are probably but little known. The correspondence includes the three years of Mr. Gladstone's restless and implacable hostility to the Liberal Government, and the commencement of his brilliant financial administration under the Premier whom he had so incessantly attacked. Mr. Dallas seems to have been satisfied by his official intercourse with Lord Clarendon, Lord Malmesbury, and Lord John Russell, but like all the numerous foreigners who were unfriendly to England he disliked Lord Palmerston. He describes with acute fidelity the various changes of English feeling towards the Emperor Napoleon, and he truly says, after the Italian campaign of 1859, that no Minister could have stood for a day who opposed the determination of the English people to protect the soil from invasion. Those who freshly remember the events which Mr. Dallas recorded from week to week for the information of his Government might almost fancy that they were reading the newspapers of the time. Having no special predilection for any statesman or party, Mr. Dallas is dispassionate and sound in his comparative judgments, though he is too astute in discovering welcome proofs of English decadence. On one occasion he notices with grave censure a speech on Reform in which Lord Grey had, perhaps injudiciously, founded an argument on the alleged failure of the operation of universal suffrage in the United States. An American of a former generation might, he says, have heard from the gallery of the House of Lords the same abuse to which Franklin listened a hundred years ago. There is no reason to suppose that Mr. Dallas either forgot or disapproved the extravagant abuse of England which has so constantly served as the theme of American eloquence within and without the walls of Congress. At the time when he wrote no President had for many years composed a Message in which some expression of unfriendly feeling to England was not inserted to gratify the popular taste. Lord Grey, though he might more advantageously have chosen another illustration, was not gratuitously assailing a foreign community, but examining its institutions for the legitimate and practical purpose of guiding English legislation.

Down to the last few months of his mission Mr. Dallas constantly writes about American politics with unflinching devotion to the interests of the Democratic party. In common with his political allies, he had acquired a leaning to slavery on its own account, although the system was but accidentally connected with

the doctrines which he professed. Notwithstanding his attachment to Russia, he collects with avidity reports of the failure of the measure for the emancipation of the serfs, and from time to time he indulges in agreeable jokes at the expense of the coloured races. He tells Mr. Marcy that Mr. Mason had estimated at 1,000 dollars the value of the Minister of Hayti, and he remarks that the Ambassador of Siam looks as if he would be admirably suited to work on a cotton plantation. With singular indifference to English feeling, he is anxious to procure for circulation copies of the *Dred Scott* decision, by which the Supreme Court established slavery in all parts of the United States. It would be not only interesting, but historically and politically important, to learn Mr. Dallas's confidential opinions on the grave questions which followed the split of the Republican party on the Presidential nomination of 1860, and the consequent election of Mr. Lincoln. The last letter in the collection is dated on the eve of his departure from England in the spring of 1861, but the previous correspondence has been severely pruned, or rather all notice of American affairs has been suppressed. It is impossible to doubt either the propriety and patriotism of Mr. Dallas's motives in omitting this portion of his letters, or the soundness of his discretion; but if he had violated official confidence his error would have gratified something more than curiosity. It must be remembered that during the secession of the Gulf States, at the time of the fall of Fort Sumter, and when the Confederacy was formed, the English Government derived all its official information from the Minister of Mr. Buchanan, who repudiated the employment of force against the seceding States, from the hearty advocate of slavery and of State rights, and from the friend of Mr. Mason, Mr. Floyd, and Mr. Jefferson Davis. It is not unreasonable to conjecture that the disruption of the Union was represented by Mr. Dallas in a different light from that which was afterwards discovered by the orators of the Republican party; and it will not be surprising if it appears hereafter that the recognition of Confederate belligerency, even if it had not been fully warranted by the facts, would have been the logical consequence of the authorized communications of Mr. Dallas. It may indeed suit the purpose of the party which ultimately proved victorious to censure the English Government for reposing confidence in the Minister of a defeated party and an outgoing President; but, notwithstanding the fantastic doctrines of Mr. Sumner, foreigners have no right to look beyond the commission of an accredited Minister. If the letters of Mr. Dallas between August 1860 and March 1861 had supported the contention of the American Government at the present day, it is not an improbable presumption that he would have gladly repelled the inference which, as he must have anticipated, is drawn from the omission. If he could not strengthen the cause of his Government he had a perfect right to be silent. A prudent reticence might be expected from a statesman who has in the present compilation given abundant proof, not only of intellectual and literary power, but of a loyalty to his country which is not only unflinching, but pugnacious and zealous.

A NEW "ART DE VÉRIFIER LES DATES."

WE know not what may have been the experience of others, but we must confess that in our own younger days we used to find a sort of mysterious fascination in those parts of the Book of Common Prayer which are not of a devotional nature. The Preface was something; there was something so touching in Charles the Second's pious inclination to give satisfaction. But much greater was the notice Concerning the Service of the Church, setting forth in a sprightly kind of way the hardships of turning the book in past times, and enlarging on "the number and hardness of the rules called the Pie." What could the Pie be? and why was it so hard to turn the book? But the Pie was as nothing compared to the Epact and the Indiction, the Golden Number and the Sunday Letter. Nothing was further from carrying its own meaning with it, but it was just there that the charm lay. Then there was something very mysterious about "the ecclesiastical full moons," about which much pains seemed to be taken that they might fall as nearly as possible on the same days as "the real full moons." What was an ecclesiastical full moon, seemingly something different from the real full moon in the heavens, and which called for so much trouble to make it come even at all near to keeping its proper days? We had not then heard of Lyra rising in obedience to Caesar's edict, or we might have asked whether the moon had been taught to rise and set in obedience to the canons of the Church. But more attractive than all were the tables telling us how to reckon Easter in the year 7000 or 8000. The author seemed to be so certain that the world would then be in being, and to be by no means convinced that the owner of the book might not still be alive to use the tables. He dealt so calmly with hundreds and thousands of years; such and such hundredth years were to be leap-years and such were not, and the whole wound up with a magnanimous &c., bidding defiance to all speculations as to the world ending this year or next, and seeming to assure us on the authority of the Church that its duration would last, and that Easter and the ecclesiastical full moons would last with it, for

* *Handy-book of Rules and Tables for verifying Dates with the Christian Era; giving an Account of the Chief Eras, and Systems used by various Nations; with easy Methods for determining the Corresponding Dates.* By John J. Bond. London: Bell & Daldy. 1869.

more millenniums than we had fingers—or toes either—to reckon them on.

The interest however in these things is not in most minds likely to last long beyond the days when we may truly say that "omne ignotum pro magnifico." The study of chronology pure and simple, the mere reckoning of times and seasons, of years and millenniums, of full moons and eclipses and indictions, as distinguished from the events which all these things illustrate, is never likely to be generally attractive. Every student of mediæval history must be familiar with the grand old folios of the *Art de vérifier les Dates*; but, if we may judge of other people by ourselves, we fear that the invaluable tracings out of the descent and succession of all the kings and princes in the world get much oftener referred to than the elaborate astronomical calculations which, after all, are constantly needed to get our kings and princes into their right places. Abstract chronology, in short, is one of those subjects in which most men will always be content to profit by the results and to admire the process at a distance. But, for that very reason, we ought the more to rejoice that there are people like Mr. Bond, who clearly take a genuine delight in reckonings of this kind. We may be tempted to look upon them as Nethinim, but they are Nethinim of the right sort; Nethinim without whose help we could not get on. They are the very opposite to heralds or genealogists; they are the most laborious of all searchers after truth for its own sake, the men who give the least play to the delusive faculty of imagination. The man who has learned how to curb the eccentricities of an ecclesiastical full moon, and how to bring the erring planet back to its proper place in the kalendar, is incomparably better employed than the man who busies himself in spreading abroad a mythical pedigree or in blazoning a coat of arms by planets or precious stones. Mr. Bond will, we hope, forgive us for our little rhapsody; his book is one which we wish thoroughly to recommend, but it is also one which it is not very easy to review, and his subject carried us back to very old memories—memories which seemed ready to serve as no unfit padding for the subject before us.

Mr. Bond goes very thoroughly through his whole subject, not only giving us tables of every kind of a minuteness which makes us almost grow dizzy, but expounding minutely all about the different usages as to the beginning of the year, the different eras of reckoning, and the whole history of the Julian and Gregorian Kalendar. There really seems to have been no subject on which mankind have been more perverse than in matters relating to the reckoning of time. Why, for instance, should we ourselves, during by far the greater part of our national history, have begun the year with March 25th? And if, as Mr. Bond tells us, William the Conqueror introduced the more reasonable fashion of beginning with January 1st, why should Henry the Second, who commonly passes for a discerning prince, have brought in, or fallen back upon, the senseless practice which lasted from 1154 to 1751? Of course it is not merely a question when the year should begin. For purposes of reckoning it matters very little at what season the beginning of the year is put, though doubtless midwinter is in itself the most reasonable time. But it would be just as easy to reckon from the equinox, or from any other time, provided the first day be called the first day, the first day of the first month. Nothing can be conceived more inconvenient than beginning on the 25th of the third month, the 24th of March belonging to one year and the 25th to the other. Then conceive the perversity of our going on for one hundred and seventy years with a reckoning which we knew to be wrong, for no reason that one can see except that we were too good Protestants to accept the right reckoning when it was the Pope who had devised it. Then we have the whole Orthodox Church doing the same to this day, or rather putting both reckonings on every letter or newspaper—much as on a Bradshaw's Guide we see "1st Mo. (January)"—the one date for the saving of their own consciences, the other to make what they have to say intelligible to the rest of the world. Mr. Bond gives some instances of the disputes which arose in various places at the time of the change of the Kalendar. We can add another, which certainly shows how little philosophy the question was argued. In the Canton of Glarus, which was nearly equally divided between Catholics and Protestants, disputes naturally ran high. On this some moderate and well-disposed men, wishing to bring the two parties to a compromise, proposed that they should split the difference. In Sweden, it seems, to avoid the supposed confusions which would happen by leaving out ten days all at once, the New Style was introduced gradually by making leap-years no leap-years till the style came right. But it is certainly some satisfaction that, if Christians of different sects have been very foolish and prejudiced in this matter, they are at least all of them outdone by the Mahometans. Human perversity can hardly go further than reckoning by a lunar year which is necessarily eleven days too short, so that the seasons go round and round in a cycle, the Ramadan coming in winter in one year, and in summer in another. If it be true that the moon did once run up the Prophet's sleeve, one might expect her to appear again, as she does in the Aristophanic Clouds, and explain that she is guiltless in this matter, and that she has no wish to intrude on the functions of her brother.

Perversity of another kind comes out in the French Republican Kalendar, with its new names of months and days, and its intercalary days dedicated to Labour, Opinion, and what not. But putting aside tomfoolery of this sort, we must confess to a weakness for really descriptive names of the months, like the honest

Dutch names devised by Charles the Great and not yet forgotten among his own people.

Mr. Bond, assumes, we suppose, that all his readers have mastered the great truth that 100 is needed to make up 100 and that 99 will not do. But it should not be forgotten how many people failed to realize the fact nineteen years ago. There was then a grave "Half-Century Question," and many people seriously believed that a new half-century began with the year 1850. Yet we do not believe that if a debt of 50*l.* had been owing to any of those persons, he would have thought himself paid in full if he received 49*l.* The error was palpable, and yet it is one with which human nature cannot help sympathizing. It is quite certain that eighteen centuries, that is 1,800 years, are not made up by counting 1,799 years, but that they need the 1,800th year to make up the full tale. Yet the 1800, by bringing in a new figure, looks as if it were the first of a new series and not the last of an old one. It is just the same with decades. We are sure that most men, when they enter their 40th or 50th or 60th year, feel a certain unavoidable feeling, which ought to be kept till the 41st, 51st, or 61st.

Mr. Bond has of course much to say about the Christian era, and the mistake of Dionysius Exiguus, through which ever since the sixth century Christians have reckoned from a point four years too late. Our Lord was born, according to tradition, in the twenty-eighth year of the reign of Augustus. But when did Augustus begin to reign? The traditional reckoning counted the twenty-eight years from the battle of Actium; Dionysius reckoned from the assumption of the title of Augustus—a reckoning certainly more reasonable in itself, but which happened to set him wrong in this particular matter. By an unexpected analogy, Mr. Bond himself, in setting forth the regnal years of the Kings of England, dates the accession of William the Conqueror from October 14th, 1066. This is just one of the points on which history and old almanacks differ; January 5th would be intelligible, but why October 14th? While we are in the eleventh century, we may express our wonder at lists of sovereigns of Wales among whom we do not see either Gruffydd ap Llywelyn or Gruffydd ap Rhydderch. Moreover we should like to see the certificate of the marriage to which Mr. Bond (p. 277) pledges himself between Cnut and his first Elfgyfu, and we are yet more taken aback when we read in the same page, "Harold, son of Godwine, married, 1, *Anonyma*." Surely this description is hard, even upon poor Eadgyth Swanneshals.

Useful as Mr. Bond's book is, it strikes us as not very coherently put together. We have found it rather hard to find where things are in it. And in several places it curiously illustrates the relation in which studies of this kind stand to history itself. As there is a class of people who know all about the outsides of books, but very little about their insides, so to have thoroughly mastered the science of fixing the dates of events does not seem necessarily to carry with it any very clear notion about the events themselves. It is odd to be told that "the years following the death of Charles the First, until the restoration of Charles the Second, are sometimes called the '*interregnum*,' but are more commonly known as the time of the Government of the Commonwealth of England by a Lord Protector (1648-9 to 1660)." (P. 273.) Now Mr. Bond does not really think that Cromwell became Protector in 1649, for in p. 289 he gives us the proclamation of his accession as Protector in 1653. But the expression is a strangely loose and inaccurate one, and it reminds one of a story which we may possibly have told before, of certain wiseacres who stoutly maintained that the *coup d'état* of the present ruler in France was done in 1848, and mocked greatly at those who placed it in 1851. Mr. Bond's treatment of history is funny. Having dealt with a matter quite within his province, namely the times of keeping Easter, he goes on:—

The Roman method is the one we now recognise, yet it appears to have been one of the chief obstacles to an agreement between S. Augustine and the Welsh.

It is stated in many histories that the Christian faith was received in Britain during the early years of the Church. Theodoret and Sophronius affirm that S. Paul was here, and preached the Gospel after his first imprisonment at Rome. Nicephorus and others report that Simon Zelotes came to Britain as the first messenger. And it has been asserted, that St. Philip the Apostle of the French sent over twelve preachers, the chief among them being Joseph of Arimathea, the one who buried the body of our Lord. These are said to have arrived in the year 63 of our Christian era, and to have had a place of habitation assigned to them, where Glastonbury afterwards stood. Twelve hides of land were given to them, which were subsequently known as the Twelve Hides of Glastonbury [formerly called Avallonia]. Some writers affirm that there is simply evidence of the existence of a Christian Church at that early date. But it is said that paganism prevailed, and that there was no public recognition of the Christian religion except in Wales.

But towards the close of the sixth century Christianity was again preached in Britain.

He then goes on with the account of Gregory and the English boys, copied from Sir Francis Palgrave. There is a pleasant light-of-nature way of looking at things in all this. But the following passage is stranger still:—

It is obvious, however, that the dates given in the "Public Records" for the commencement and termination of each sovereign's reign must alone be recognised, to the exclusion of all other systems, when our object is to verify written dates in "Records," notwithstanding a statement made some years past [1830] by Mr. Allen, in his account of the "Rise and Growth of the Royal Prerogative in England"—which may be perfectly true, as far as it goes—that "the Crown of England has been for ages hereditary," and that "it has been long a settled principle of English law, that on the death of the king his royal dignity descends immediately to his successor," but this system only dates from the reign of Edward the Sixth.

We cannot in the least guess why Mr. Bond should have gone out of his way to fall foul of Mr. Allen, whose statement was not chronological but constitutional, and in no way contradicts or bears any relation to the doctrine put forth by Mr. Bond. Mr. Bond, in short, like other people, does best when he keeps on his own ground. On his own ground we can thoroughly recommend him.

PUCK.*

YOUNG men just entering life may generally be divided into two classes. There is the earnest youth, who rather bores us by his contempt for frivolity and the missionary zeal with which he is constantly overflowing. Opposed to him, and infinitely his inferior, is the Byronic youth, who affects to disbelieve in the virtue of woman and the honour of man; who is a precocious cynic, and makes an elaborate ostentation of vices which he does not always possess. The art in which he delights is of the highly-coloured and not over-modest variety, and his favourite reading is, or some years ago used to be, *Don Juan*. Probably the old-fashioned author of that work has been partly superseded in favour of recent writers, though Mrs. Beecher Stowe must have given a temporary impetus to his circulation. The author of *Guy Livingstone* was for some time fortunate enough to interpret the views of this class, and to paint the ideal to which it aspired; he was the prophet of premature "men of the world." "Ouida," it seems, aspires to take up this noble office. The same heroes with tremendous muscular power, with peculiar views of social morality, and with a supreme contempt for everybody who is not familiar with the slang of Newmarket or Mayfair, stalk through the pages of both novelists in all the dignity of the conventional aristocrat. There is the same delight in describing the beautiful clothes they wear, the admirable cigars they smoke, and the gorgeous upholstery of their chambers; and in thereby displaying a familiarity with the names of the most popular tradesmen in London and Paris. We all know Derry Denzil, the reckless devil-may-care hero with "great sinewy limbs," and bearded and bronzed like an Asiatic; and Marmion Eagle, the superb golden-haired painter; and the delicate soldier, St. John Milton, with a face like a pretty brunette's, who has nevertheless been "cut all to pieces a hundred times," killed more men to his own hand than anybody in the army, and it seems keeps all their skulls, and occasionally sets them in a row on the roof of his house; we know Royston Wressyl and "Ruthless Rhy," and the whole tribe of oddly-named and magnificent "swells" who are modelled upon *Guy Livingstone*, with fulsome iteration. Both authors have the same belief in "blood," and are profoundly convinced that one guardsman can thrash three bargees; whilst even the bargee is more than a match for the stupid, cringing, cowardly, lying, snobbish middle-classes. They do not generally stain their pages by admitting these last, except to provide a few cowards as a relief to the magnificent performances of their pet heroes. To say the truth, there is something very offensive in the snobbishness (we know no other word) of all this grovelling before so poor a creature as this imaginary guardsman, and filling page after page with accounts of his splendour fitter for an auctioneer or an advertising tailor than for the humblest of literary artists.

Both writers, however, have undeniable talent; and it is curious to remark the specific differences. The types both of feminine and manly excellence are almost identical; but there is a distinction in their philosophy, or at least in their choice of topics. "Ouida," being a lady, rejoices to indulge herself in what is known as "scathing satire" upon her sex. Probably it won't do much harm, but the volubility and variety of her denunciations is really surprising. Women, she tells us, are incapable of poetry, from want, not of intellect, but of sympathy. "There is a well of kindness in the hearts of many men to which that of women is as a little shallow rivulet, noisy indeed, but of no depth or duration"; hard as men can be at times, "they are never hard with the chill, contented, egotistic, lifelong brutality of women." Lucretius has told us, it seems, how charming it is "to stand under shelter in a storm, and see another hurrying through its wind and rain," but a woman would not be content unless she had an umbrella by her that she had refused to lend. "Ouida" is not quite so good at the classics as *Guy Livingstone*, but her meaning is pretty obvious. Women, again, resemble cats in "their love of warmth and ease, in their chilly sensualism, their frolics that always end in a scratch to their playmates, their passion for chasing a mouse or a lover that, once caught and slain, is valueless vermin for ever in their sight." These are a few random specimens of a mass of similar rant. The woman who is the chief heroine of the book before us, is one of whom it is sensibly remarked that it is a terrible thing "when nature has made a woman so corrupt that no fiend, if there were one, could teach her aught of evil." There are women, we are afterwards told, who abhor genius, and set themselves to corrupt and tempt and destroy it; "there are women whose whole life is a war against all that lifts men out of hell; they are scorpions who spit death upon every holy thing." The heroine, whose career is traced from her youth in a Derbyshire village, till, after some celebrity at Paris under the name of Laura Pearl, she becomes Marchioness of Isla, is one of these death-spitting scorpions. She belongs to a type with which readers of French novels are tolerably familiar; "her splendid lips had a

cruel sensuality; the splendid eyes had a hard rapacity; the splendid ruddy-tinted hair shaded a brow that had the low brutal ignorance of the savage set on it. But, with all that youth, that colour, that magnificence of loveliness, who remembered it?" She is in short such a person as Mr. Swinburne would delight to describe; a compound of beauty, sensuality, and devilish malignity. She ruins half a dozen men body and soul in the course of the novel, and is finally rewarded by wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, and dismissed with a faint hint that a bishop will probably dine with her before long and introduce her to good society. "Ouida," it may be remarked in passing, heartily hates the clergy. Two good women of the gentle and submissive type are introduced by way of a foil to this monster of iniquity. One of them is driven into religious retirement, when her lover, after being seduced from her by Laura Pearl, finally commits suicide, being one of the heroes sacrificed to the death-spitting scorpion. The other good woman dies in a highly dramatic manner, owing to a judiciously spiteful remark of the same scorpion, who skilfully contrives to obtain revenge without detection. If some weak people should suggest that this was rather an extravagant picture of modern society, "Ouida" may tell them the true moral of her story—namely, that "having fallen upon an age which has elected to defy the courtesan, and wherein hard avarice and keen passions for pelf and self do prosper more greatly than any genius or attainment or quality of the mind or character, this woman was rewarded for her vice." The Pearls of this age are, it seems, the real rulers of society. If you are a "grande dame" you are "nowhere"—"nowhere at all, except for wretched little puddling political purposes, if you belong to a party. As for all the rest, Pearl and that lot have it." In society they set the fashions; men who are bored by any remains of stiffness or propriety desert to them; all shopkeepers and mercantile snobs bow down and grovel before them; and as for the wealth which is lavished upon the magnificence of their diamonds, and other tangible proofs of their worshippers' devotion, the whole *Saturday Review* would scarcely contain the catalogue of their trophies.

"Ouida" hates women, or affects to hate them, because she is a woman. Her view of male nature is rather more remarkable. It is ingeniously contrived to convey the most delicate flattery to the young men whom we have noticed as her most probable audience. The external picture is tolerably correct, so long, that is, as "Ouida" can restrain her taste for lavish ornamentation. Her young men yawn, and smoke and drink, and show more or less affected contempt for every amusement that is not idle or sensual, as naturally as possible. In the real world we find that this external mask of supercilious indifference generally conceals nothing but mental vacuity, with a fair allowance of vicious propensities, tempered more or less by a certain spontaneous good nature. Youths of this type are, fortunately, of not much importance in the world, except as wasting the time and money and patience of their betters, and occasionally causing a public scandal. "Ouida," however, wishes to represent the swell as really the centre of the whole social system. Accordingly we learn that his calm exterior conceals the most fiery and reckless passions; that his affectation of cynicism permits him to be a most unselfish benefactor of the miserable, though he blushes when his virtuous acts are discovered, and brags of his vices. His honour is unimpeachable, his fidelity faultless, and the world is going to ruin because the wretched middle-classes, with all their love for grovelling before a swell, do not worship him as he deserves, and venture to put their pinchbeck beside his real gold. Moreover all men, even these noble beings, are as weak as water in the hands of women of the death-spitting scorpion kind; a fact which has led to the deification of the courtesan just mentioned. This is probably about as close an account of facts as the description of an impossible fight in a theatre, where ten swells thrash three hundred rowdies, and one slender aristocrat, clutching a gigantic prizefighter by the throat, knocks his head against an iron pillar till he is nearly dead. "Ouida" has never seen a scuffle, or despises any realistic adherence to facts. The story is obviously drawn from the account which a youthful hero generally gives of his exploits when suffering from an unaccountable black eye the morning after he has, in his own opinion, thrashed some enormous bargee. In real life, an aristocrat, however blue his blood, cannot afford to give away many pounds to a prizefighter. But "Ouida" is very properly describing, not what the youthful aristocrat is, but what he believes himself to be, or at any rate wishes other people, and especially ladies, to believe him to be.

The question whether this is a lifelike account of society is immaterial. We have no right to limit such ambitious artists to bare blank realism. Nor do we inquire into the morality of the story, further than to observe that it is not, in our opinion, a very pretty book for a lady to have written. We merely look at it as a work of art, and we can only repeat once more what we have said of "Ouida" before; if she could only learn that extreme volubility is not eloquence, and that piling up superlatives does not make a sentence forcible, any more than the use of the most glaring contrasts makes a picture worthy of a great colourist, she might really use her talents to some good purpose. We fear, however, that *Puck* is a conclusive answer to this. "Ouida" knows as well as we do that her art is as bad as her morality; but probably she adopts them with her eyes open to please the uncultivated tastes of lads in the sublimely ignorant too often produced by an education at first-rate schools and early introduction into the best society. She will laugh at us for measuring her work by too high a stan-

* *Puck*. By "Ouida." London: Chapman & Hall. 1870.

dard, and will answer that it is made to sell. We can only reply, so be it! we are sorry for it, and the more so that a clever woman, writing nonsense, naturally tires of her trade, till her nonsense ceases to be even amusing. *Puck* is a decided falling off from some of her previous productions. The story is less extravagant, but less animated. By way of additional variety, it is put into the mouth of a dog, whose merits towards the human race and the ingratitude with which they are treated are another excuse for the vituperation of mankind and modern society. Considering the difficulty of carrying such machinery through three volumes, it is rather less tiresome than we might expect.

COBBE'S NORMAN KINGS.*

THIS history of the Norman Kings is a wonderful instance of what can be done by an ingenious writer when he once gets astride of a theory. There are a few passages in the preface which are quite sufficient to prove that, when Mr. Cobbe likes to write sensibly, he can write very sensibly indeed. It is from sheer choice and on a deliberate theory that he has chosen to write nonsense. The theory is that of "following the chroniclers" and of "telling events" as the old monks set them down; and if this merely meant substituting an honest regard for authority in the place of hasty and pretentious generalizations, we should no more object to it in Mr. Cobbe than we should in Mr. Freeman or in Sir Francis Palgrave. But the teaching of such historians as these is simply caricatured in a book whose slavish deference for "the chroniclers" rests on a blank ignorance of all other contemporary materials for history. "Of the condition of England under Henry the First," says Mr. Cobbe, "we ascertain nothing. There is no reign in which actually we have less knowledge on that score." There is, in fact, no reign in which we have more. But then it is requisite to look a little beyond the pages of Orderic or the English Chronicle, to disentomb the great religious revival from the life of Godric or the annals of the Cistercian houses, the intellectual awakening from the verses and Polycarpus of John of Salisbury, or the communal development from the charters of Lincoln or of London. We certainly should not blame Mr. Cobbe for avoiding sweeping generalizations, but the true principles of human progress, without which history is a mere jumble of facts, can hardly be detected by a writer who knows nothing of English annals prior to the date at which he starts, or of the general history of Europe during the times of which he tells the tale. The truth is that there is a run upon Wardour Street just now for cabinets and wainscotings, and Mr. Cobbe has thought it a good opportunity for starting a Wardour Street school of history. We wander through a medley of bishops' nominations, barons' revolts, comets and eclipses, with the same sense of artistic arrangement and the same mental satisfaction that we feel in a *bric-à-brac* shop in Soho. This chaotic picturesqueness is amazingly helped by the use of a language hitherto unknown to mankind. Nouns turn at will into verbs, and intransitives find a special charm in being transitive. When we read how "Northern Vikings had infested the Frankish province of Neustria," and then "how Hengest and the Northmen had done their vikings on our shore," we shudder at the atrocity, till we find that the Conqueror "goes a-viking," and that the Cretesmen of the first sentence are steadily degraded afterwards into participles of a verb "to vik." Some time, no doubt, after "the Ganger had pirated England," Swend "pilled Wilton and Sarum." Sentences like these lead the way to higher and sublimer things. We cease to wonder at "the potency of haut barons" even when they have "done homage and renege." We submit to a fief being a "feof." The Red King is so odd a figure that we can believe that he "denayed all compromise." Celibacy has produced such remarkable effects that possibly it might "reticulate the parochial clergy." "Considering the aptitude of his seigneurs in rancours and revolts, also the Duke's own temperament and his maimed puissance, also the under-sway of intrigue which bore him unwittingly," we may pardon a good deal in Robert Curthose. There may have been a time in our history when "long-cherished hopes became vocal." We remember that the tunes which had been frozen up in Baron Munchausen's horn by the severity of the winter played themselves out as soon as thaw came with the spring. Mr. Cobbe's *bric-à-brac* history, in short, is lit up with something brighter than the tiny dip of the chronicler. We read page after page of his book in a glare of blue lights and to a running accompaniment of crackers and Roman candles. "Words hurtle, threats, defiance surely" are hurled (if we may borrow the writer's phrase) at sobriety and common sense. Nothing but a flight of Mr. Cobbe's own can express a style in which the spasmodic jostles with the modern antique, and the eccentric moral outbursts of Sir Francis Palgrave stand side by side with wild shrieks of Carlyle. No phrase of common English can give a notion of such a passage as this on the First Crusade:—

For now a sound, as it were the roll of multitudinous drums, stirred Christendom; and, louder than all storming armies, a blast, as of the Arch-trumpet, heralded mankind to war. Like the beacon kindling the hilltop and intelligencing the horizon, that small voice uttered at Clermont, echoed from Messina to Norway, from Byzantium to the British Isles, illumined the spirit, gladdened the heart.

Such a metaphor as the last lifts Mr. Cobbe out of the range of common men. Others might have imagined a voice which was

* *History of the Norman Kings of England.* From a New Collation of the Contemporary Chronicles. By Thomas Cobbe, Barrister of the Inner Temple. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

also a beacon, but it required a mind "in a fine frenzy rolling" to blend the angel and his instrument together in the sublime figure of the Arch-trumpet.

If there is one thing more amazing than Mr. Cobbe's transformation of English, it is his transformation of history. As we have said, we believe this to be purely a matter of choice with him. The summary of authorities in the preface, his discussion of the attitude of the various chroniclers towards different sovereigns, the description of the national awakening under Rufus or of the Red King's funeral, are thoroughly sound and accurate in statement, while they indicate a very considerable power of historic insight. It is amazing that the writer of such passages as these should tell us that "Baldwin of Boulogne" and not Godfrey of Bouillon was the first Latin King of Jerusalem, or that when the Conqueror betrothed his son Robert to Margaret, he "about this time married Matilda," who fancied herself—poor soul!—Robert's mother. England, as might be expected, fares worst of all. "We are Norman as well as Saxons, Romans, and Britons"—we wonder Mr. Cobbe did not add "flint-folk and anthropophagi." He is as contemptuous of Mr. Freeman as he is of Dr. Guest. He accepts a thirteenth-century saga for history, and tells us "that Harold had many horsemen" at Stamford Bridge. In his account of the great battle it is William, not Harold, who fortifies Senlac! The shout at the Conqueror's coronation was "the last articulate English cry." From which chronicler does Mr. Cobbe learn that all England became suddenly dumb in 1066? Poor little Edgar Etheling, just out of the nursery, retires from the contest with William "void of honourable ambition." The old apocryphal Gesta are again dished up for the story of Hereward. Sainte-Beuve would have revelled in the taste which tells us how, after the Conqueror's death, "the naked corpse lay cooling" when the priests entered to say mass. A gleam of good sense brightens the page which tells of Henry's Charter, but instead of pausing to consider its import we are hurried to see "how from cross and market the glad tidings circled wavelike to the utmost shores of England," and how "lights natural and metaphorical again shone in the palace." Henry and Matilda turn out to be the latter lights, and "gleemen sang the loves of Godric and Goditha" (*sic*). We had fancied the song was a flout of the angry baronage. Of the artistic outburst which covered the land with cathedrals and abbey churches, of the increase of commercial activity which ensued on the long tranquillity of the "peaceful reign," Mr. Cobbe knows nothing. In their stead he gives us nothing but the moans of the monk of Peterborough over increased taxation and the stringing of robbers to the forest-tree. With him Henry's "pitiless pitifulness" is mere cruelty, the wonderful peace he gave the land nothing but "stagnation." Of the new researches of Mr. Stubbs into the system of justice and finance which Henry moulded into form he of course knows nothing. But it is when we cross the Channel that we most fully enjoy Mr. Cobbe. There is one province he especially favours, but we are a little doubtful as to its identity. Maine we know, and Le Mans we know, but where is the Le Mayne whose capital is Mantes? "We have seen that Duke Robert took Mantes, the capital of the county—but it had been by tort." No doubt he took it by tort, if he took it at all, for certainly it was a long way off the place he was looking for. But then Maine "had long been under the suzerainty of Anjou." How long does Mr. Cobbe reckon back to the old age of Fulk the Black? Flemish history fares even worse. Iwain and Daniel, the great patriot nobles who steered Flanders through the chaos which followed the death of Count Charles and the outrages of William the Clito, become "magnates offended privately with their Count." Before Mr. Cobbe ventures on the defamation of great and honest men he might at any rate—if his love of chronicles did not lead him to the biographers of Count Charles—have glanced at the pages of Oudegherst or Le Glay. As to Normandy, Orderic keeps him out of such blunders as these, but the good monk would hardly have known "the brothers Bellomont" or "Richard d'Abrincis." Did Mr. Cobbe ever hear of such a town as Avranches? Certainly it is not from Orderic that he draws his marvellous conception of Henry's Norman rule. The monk of Ouche was the last man in the world to confound Normandy with its villainous noblesse, or to forget that, while the robber-lords plotted for the Clito, the town and monastery were everywhere true to the King.

It is hardly worth while to devote any further time to a writer like Mr. Cobbe. The subject which he has chosen was worthy of very different treatment. No period of our history has indeed been less explored than the period between the Conquest and the Charter, the age of our foreign kings. And yet it was in this period that England, as we see it now, was really moulded into form. The people who had blindly followed a native aristocracy woke slowly to a sense of political existence in the long years during which it stood ranked against a foreign baronage and a foreign king. Religion burst the bonds of ecclesiasticism when prelate and abbot could preach but in a strange tongue. Art and literature covered England in half a century with noble buildings and thriving schools. Capital went out from Jewry after Jewry to give life to the new industrial energies of the people. Self-government, stifled in the later oligarchic English rule, extinguished by the Conquest, grew again into fresh being in the commercial liberties of the towns. The terrible justice, the long peace, of the Norman rule secured time for the development of a new people, strong enough to wrest a charter from Henry, and in the end to rally round Theobald, and extort peace and order from the chaos of the reign of Stephen. Normandy, which had conquered Eng-

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land under William, had to submit to English conquest under the two sons of the Conqueror. The accession of the Angevin gave it a sovereign who was as strange to Norman as to Englishman, and its defection to France again restored England to its old insular independence. John came back to a realm which had only served him as a treasure-house to find himself face to face with a people which the very indifference of its kings had made vigorous, wealthy, and free. To write the history of years so eventful would demand the patience, the research, the truthfulness, the philosophic power, the literary skill of a great historian; if we have treated Mr. Cobbe somewhat severely, it is that he has undertaken the task in the spirit of a mountebank.

THE CASE OF POPE HONORIUS.*

THE case of Pope Honorius has long been familiar to controversialists, but it attains a new importance in view of the Ecumenical Council now assembled, and the proposed dogma of Papal infallibility which Pius IX. is said to be bent on establishing, though the scheme for carrying it by a *coup d'Eglise*, so to speak, has been reluctantly abandoned. The Roman Correspondent of the *Times* has not always shown himself more infallible than the Roman Pontiff, but, if his intelligence may be trusted, a method has been devised for effectually stifling all discussions which it does not suit the policy of the *Curia* to initiate. Clearly, if no proposal can come before the Council that has not first been approved by a Committee of which Cardinal Cullen and Archbishop Manning are typical members—in other words, a Committee in which stolid bigotry and unscrupulous partisanship are alone represented—the *Curia* and the Jesuits are safe against any attack on their favourite dogmas, even if they should not find it prudent to attempt to force a formal acceptance of them down the throats of a recalcitrant Episcopate. If, however, the Pope and his friends should carry the day, and set the seal of Conciliar authority on the new dogma of Papal infallibility, they will thereby have infallibly condemned the infallible Council of Constantinople in 680, which solemnly anathematized a Pope for heresy—to say nothing of two more infallible Councils and a long line of infallible Pontiffs whose solemnly ratified decrees. We called attention to the subject more than a year ago in connexion with a very striking pamphlet of Mr. Renouf's on the *Condemnation of Pope Honorius*.† This was replied to by Dr. Ward, editor of the *Dublin Review*, and the Jesuit Father Bottalla; and Mr. Renouf has just published a rejoinder under the title of *The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered with reference to Recent Apologies*, which his critics are not likely easily to forget. Our readers are of course aware that it is absolutely indispensable to the infallibilist argument to clear Honorius somehow or other of the stain of heresy, and Dr. Manning remarks in his light and airy way, in his recent Pastoral, that "heterodox he was not, heretical he could not be, for his own letters remain to prove his orthodoxy," and that the Sixth Council could not have intended to condemn him, because Pope Agatho—who subscribed and published the condemnation, and whose legates presided at the Council—applied to himself and his See the prayer of Christ for St. Peter, which, Dr. Manning might have added, no single writer had ever done before. We refer to the Pastoral here, because it is said that the historical, or rather unhistorical, portion of it was chiefly supplied by Father Bottalla, who, besides his laboured apology for Honorius—of which more presently—has written a book on the *Pope and the Church*, and has another in the press on the Pope's infallibility. We readily give Dr. Manning the benefit of the doubt, though cooked history is not very creditable in an Archbishop's Pastoral, even when it is obtained secondhand.

Mr. Renouf is benevolently desirous of excusing Father Bottalla's misrepresentations, "if it were possible, by supposing him imperfectly acquainted with the English language," which he writes clumsily enough no doubt, but we fear understands far too well to think that "a letter of Honorius" and "a letter to Honorius" mean the same thing, as his rendering implies. Nor would it help him much if he did, as his little slips in Greek, in history, and in theology are quite as wonderful as his manipulation of the English tongue, to say nothing of direct misquotations. We must of course charitably presume that they are due to ignorance, but then he is put forward by Ultramontanes, and notably by the editor of the *Dublin Review*, as a high authority, whereas no intelligent reader of Mr. Renouf's Reply can fail to perceive that literary charlatanism could hardly sink to a lower depth. Let us give one example. Mr. Renouf had urged that the fact of Pope Martin I. and the Lateran Council of 649 hearing a dogmatic letter of Honorius quoted in support of Monothelism without any contradiction, proved that his cause was no longer held to be defensible. Father Bottalla, who had just stated, in the teeth of facts, that Honorius "commanded two operations in Christ to be preached," replies that they "heard the names of St. Gregory, St. Cyril, St. Athanasius and the rest quoted as authorities for Monothelism without any contradiction"; the fact being that they indignantly repudiated the imputation in every case except that of Honorius:—

Father Bottalla's retort, which Dr. Ward perfectly approves, is the most unfortunate that could have been devised. The engineer is hoist with his own petard. He has unwillingly helped to bring out in its full light one of the most damaging facts connected with the history of Honorius; namely, that whereas that Pope was one of many authorities quoted by the

Monothelites in their favour, he is the *only one* with reference to whom the imputation was not met in the Council of Lateran by an indignant refutation. In his case alone not a word of contradiction was offered.

Yet this is the writer who exhibits the characteristic modesty of true genius by talking of his opponent's having fallen "into a lower depth of blunder than the author of the *Papst-Fabeln* has reached." The author of the *Papst-Fabeln* is Dr. Döllinger, and the "blunder" is a simple statement of fact which any one who refers to the documents can verify for himself, and in which Mr. Renouf has followed the steps of such authorities as Thomassin and Bossuet. Father Bottalla's standard of literary honesty may be gauged by his insisting that Honorius was not condemned for heresy, because Baronius says his name was retained in the Oriental diptychs; he omits to add that Baronius says it was kept there "*arte dolosa hæreticorum*." His capacities for the interpretation of documents are happily exemplified by his explaining the language of the decree of the Sixth Council condemning the dogmatic letters of Sergius and Honorius as alien from apostolic teaching, and following the false doctrines of heretics, to mean, at least in the case of Honorius, "not that his letters contain any error contrary to the tradition of the Apostles, but that they do not reveal that ecclesiastical prudence and diligence which have always been traditional in the Church." The Fathers of Constantinople might have instructed Talleyrand in the science of using language to conceal one's thoughts:—

Father Bottalla has been spoken of as a most learned man and a consummate theologian. Praise of this kind is very cheaply won. There is no theology in his book which is not found in the commonest Ultramontane manual. Two or three volumes, by no means rare in ecclesiastical libraries, readily supply all the learning brought to bear against me. I have already mentioned the use made of Orsi's work on the authority of the Roman Pontiff. An uncritical study of a few pages of Petavius and of Baronius with Pagi's notes has given F. Bottalla a radically unhistorical notion of the Monothelites. He grossly exaggerates their errors.

Of F. Bottalla's ridiculous attempts to explain away adverse texts I have given instances in abundance. I have also given instances of his extraordinary unfaithfulness in quotation. The following specimen is unique in its kind. He says that I inform my readers that "the Emperor 'presided in all the Sessions at which he was present'; and 'that he had his way in all things when present'; that during his absence he was represented by two patricians and two ex-consuls, and that 'bishops were very small persons indeed.'" Of these four statements which are supposed to represent my description of the Council, the second and fourth are taken from my description of the reasons given by Pighius for denying the authority of the Council.

Mr. Renouf's other assailant, the editor of the *Dublin Review*, has established, it seems, a quite unique reputation for drawing "the most ludicrously illogical inferences from an opponent's words," and being "from temperament quite incapable of apprehending their obvious meaning." We think we have heard something of this before. Certainly he needs the full benefit of the excuse, such as it is, to palliate in some measure the gross misrepresentations and arrogant abuse of which the Reply before us contains so searching an exposure. Dr. Ward is not, we believe, credited even by his admirers with any special linguistic or historical information, so we need not wonder to find him as ignorant and as positive as Father Bottalla about what passed at the Lateran Council of 649; nor need we be much surprised at reading the assertion—for which an Eton boy under the old régime would certainly have been flogged—"that as a mere matter of language the word *ἐκ-πορεῖ* must signify at variance, not simply different." But we are a little startled to find a writer who is incessantly puffed by his friends as a first-rate theologian, displaying an almost grotesque ignorance of the first rudiments of the theological controversy about which he is undertaking to instruct the world. What shall we say of a writer on Monothelism who does not even know "that the whole controversy really turned upon the question whether the will is to be attributed to the *person* or to the *nature*," and who actually goes out of his way to quote a passage in the Letter of Honorius in proof of his orthodoxy, for which his warmest defenders have felt it necessary to apologize, while he professes himself only able to discover one or two heterodox expressions in the letter of the Monothelite heresiarch, Sergius, and one of these two happens to be an extract from St. Gregory Nyssen? For the *Dublin Review*'s extravagant misrepresentations of Mr. Renouf's argument we must refer our readers to the pamphlet itself. Certainly, if, "as compared with Father Bottalla, Dr. Ward is the model of a fair, intelligent, and even courteous controversialist"—and we can quite believe it—the candour of the Jesuit professor, who thinks that "*ἐκ-πορεῖ* is commonly used by the Greeks to express *ὁρμαίνε*," must be about on a par with his scholarship.

Mr. Renouf sets himself in his pamphlet to prove three points about Pope Honorius—that he really sanctioned the Monothelite heresy; that it was for heresy he was condemned by Ecumenical Councils and Popes; and that his heresy was taught *ex cathedra*. It is not creditable to theology, or rather to theologians—for the question is mainly one of history—that it should be necessary in this day to write a line in proof of any of these points. What would be thought of an historian sitting down to write a learned pamphlet to prove that the Duke of Monmouth really rebelled against James II.; that he was executed for high treason, and not for incompetence in commanding the royal armies against the insurgents; and that his treason was exhibited in overt acts? This would be a strictly parallel case. Yet we think Mr. Renouf has judged wisely in preparing his crushing refutation of the infallibilist advocates of Pope Honorius. There is no "pietas"

* *The Case of Pope Honorius Reconsidered with reference to Recent Apologies*. By F. Le Page Renouf. London: Longmans & Co. 1869.

† *Saturday Review*, June 27, 1863.

to constrain men to falsify the leading facts of English history, but there are too many writers gifted with a certain amount of Old Bailey ingenuity, whose "line of argument," and statement of facts too, "is determined by the intention to vindicate the Pope," and rises superior alike to all laws of historic criticism and of controversial honesty. We entered so fully into the question of the formal heresy of Honorius in noticing Mr. Renouf's earlier work, that it is enough here briefly to repeat that Sergius, Patriarch of Constantinople, sent him a dogmatic confession, most explicitly laying down the Monothelite doctrine, and that not only did the Pope give no hint of a suspicion of its orthodoxy in his official reply, but both in that and in a subsequent dogmatic letter to Sophronius, Patriarch of Jerusalem, he directly asserted the Monothelite tenet of one will in Christ, and expressly condemned what has since been defined as the Catholic doctrine of two wills. For this he was anathematized by name as a heretic after his death by the Sixth (Œcumenical) Council, presided over by Papal legates. The sentence was confirmed and published throughout the West by the reigning Pope—who further took occasion to assert publicly that Honorius was punished with eternal damnation—again confirmed by the two next General Councils, and expressly sworn to by every Pope on his accession for several centuries, as may be seen in the *Liber Diurnus*. For a long time Ultramontane controversialists, whose capacities of scepticism are quite equal on occasion to their capacities of blind credulity, met these facts by simply asserting that the Acts of the Sixth Council were spurious, just as they pertinaciously maintained the genuineness of the False Decretals for more than two centuries after the fraud had been exposed to the satisfaction of every impartial scholar. And as, when the forgery of Isidore could no longer be denied, they took refuge in the stupendous paradox—to which writers of Father Bottalla's school still cling—that it made no real difference in the government of the Church, so they still attempt to bolster up the rotten orthodoxy of Honorius, whose condemnation they can no longer affect to deny, either by arguing that he was not condemned for heresy, or that he taught heresy "as a private doctor" and not *ex cathedra*. It is difficult to say which subterfuge is the most glaringly dishonest. The Letters of Honorius bear explicit witness to his heresy, and the decrees of the three Councils explicitly condemn him as a heretic. Those Letters are addressed by him officially, and "*ex cathedra*" means nothing more than *ex officio*, to the three Eastern Patriarchs on a question of faith. The term *ex cathedra* was not invented till centuries afterwards; but if ever a Pope addressed the Church as Pope, on an article of faith, Honorius indisputably did so.

What, then, are we to say of the pious frauds, the "gross falsifications," "misquotations," suppressions, mutilations, literary sleight-of-hand of every sort, which Mr. Renouf has so abundantly proved against his critics? Their ignorance on some points is no doubt as genuine as it is profound; but it is not simply their ignorance that makes us feel, after reading this pamphlet, that no single statement on any point, historical, theological, or linguistic, nor any quotation or reference to the statements of their opponents or any other authorities, can possibly be received on their own unsupported testimony. The true explanation is not far to seek. For them the orthodoxy of Honorius is literally *articulus stantis vel cadentis ecclesie*. Once let him be convicted of formal heresy, and on their own showing the whole Ultramontane system, and all Christianity with it, comes tumbling about their ears. Men reduced to desperate straits will resort to desperate remedies. We have no wish to judge them harshly, but every reason that is offered for their good faith is a fresh count in the heavy indictment against the false and demoralizing system which they feel it a duty to defend to the last. They are fighting for dear life. They have staked their all, religiously speaking, "on a system which is demonstrably untenable." The impossibility of upholding it by fair means has in other days made fierce persecutors of men not naturally cruel or unjust. In days when intellectual warfare had succeeded to physical force, that same dire necessity has drawn on men not otherwise dishonest the terrible rebuke of a distinguished Catholic theologian, *Non eget Petrus mendacio vestro*. We can understand, and in a certain sense respect, the motives of those who are honestly convinced that truthfulness must be sacrificed to what they have somehow brought themselves to regard as the cause of sacred truth. Father Matignon has answered Bishop Maret in the French Jesuit magazine on this same case of Honorius, in much the same style in which Dr. Ward and Father Bottalla have answered Mr. Renouf. And the *Month*, the organ of the English Jesuits, is loud in its praises of his "admirable review." They know that in this controversy infallibilism is at stake, and has not Dr. Manning told them that on that "divine authority all faith reposes"? We cannot wonder if, like the knight of ancient fable who was loyal to his false allegiance, their honour stands rooted in dishonour, "and faith unfaithful makes them falsely true" to the system with which they dare not break.

CHRISTMAS BOOKS.—No. IV.

THE *Angels of Heaven* (Seeley) is a collection of meditations in prose and verse, and a parallel collection of photographs from well-known painters, all referring to the angelic host. In either case there is a good deal of eclecticism, and in the literary portion we think that some inadequate verses have been selected.

Spenser's famous stanzas, for example, might well have replaced Mr. Hanlinson's weak poetry. Blake's magnificent *Sons of God*, from the *Job* illustrations, and the *Last Trumpet*, contrast most favourably in power with the sexless prettinesses which late Italian and French Art think it right to present as angels. If angels "excel in strength," Blake is almost alone in giving this characteristic.

Stories for My Children (Macmillan), by Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen, M.P. Here we have a really charming collection of fairy tales, told by an accomplished gentleman; and we must rank this book as one of the successes of the season. Mr. Knatchbull-Hugessen shows occasional touches of quiet satire as well as much playful grace. In one story he acknowledges a reminiscence of that wonderful book *Alice in Wonderland*; but he is original and inventive. Some of the stories are expanded fables, of which the moral is never intrusive, though always intelligible.

Art in England (Low and Marston), by Mr. Dutton Cook. We hardly know why some books reach us for review in this particular classification of gift-books; and we may owe an apology to Mr. Cook for placing him in this category. There is a good deal of pleasant, gossiping information in his volume, and the anecdotes strike us as being superior to the criticism. On the whole, for a popular collection of biographies of English artists, this collection will have a permanent interest.

Varieties of Irish History (Kelly), by Mr. Gaskin, is a manual of guide-book information relating to the neighbourhood of Dublin. The last part of the volume consists of extracts from the once well-known *Baratariana*, a collection of political pasquinades on Lord Townshend's Administration in 1771.

Earth and Sea, by Louis Figuier (Nelson). This is another of those handsome and popular science manuals, profusely and beautifully illustrated, of which so many have been recently published in France. The English editor and translator, Mr. Davenport Adams, has frequently expanded and improved his original, which, with occasional traces of sentimentalism, and of that poetical treatment of natural history which began with Buffon and has acquired its rankest luxuriance in M. Michelet, and which we always look for in French science, exhibits much research. Physical geography has not often been so picturesquely treated, and the English publisher is to be congratulated on this volume. The department of mountains is very fully treated; and some of the woodcuts are to be highly commended.

Le Japon Illustré, par Aimé Humbert (Hachette). Patriotism and our natural Anglomaniia forbid us of course to say that this is the finest work in this year's vast collection of illustrated books and gift-books. But we might say it, and with perhaps entire truth; for a handsomer and more complete monograph we have not seen. Neither in size nor in scope does it come into competition with Siebold's magnificent work; but the author, M. Humbert, formerly the Swiss envoy in Japan, has brought down his information to the last year. He has in the more scientific portion of this fine work exhibited great research in disentangling the perplexed coil of Japanese history, and the solid and accurate information on the relations between the Mikado, the Shogoon—commonly called Tycoon—and the feudal classes, will serve to dispel much of the ignorance, and something of the misinformation, with which the political state of this singular people is enveloped in newspaper and popular writing. The social state of the community is described with great life and vigour, and is almost as amusing as a novel; while the illustrations on wood—five hundred in number—are matchless, and favourably contrast in vigour and decision with our own cuts in similar works. Not the least interesting portion in these volumes are the facsimiles of Japanese art. An enormous expense must have been incurred in the production of this work, and we trust that it will have a large sale in this country, and that our artists will profit by the lessons which it teaches. We desire to express unmixt satisfaction with the work.

Mr. Nimmo of Edinburgh is a patriotic publisher, and his gift-books are of Scotland Scotch. The *Sea Kings of Orkney*, *English and Scotch Chivalry*, and *Battle History of Scotland* are a set of historical sketches creditable to the author's (Mr. Maxwell's) public spirit as well as research. They form a sort of dramatic trilogy full of incident and spirit.

We need only mention Victor Hugo's *Toilers of the Sea* (Low), and Mr. Dickens's Christmas Books in a collected form (Chapman and Hall), of which, in our poor judgment, the admirable illustrations by Doyle, Leech, and Tenniel, who in these delightful drawings stand first among many artists of greater and academical position, far exceed the value of the stories, which however popular, if they are popular, are exaggerated in expression and often offend against taste.

Newman's *Natural History of British Moths* (Tweedie) is a scientific work; but it is so beautifully illustrated that it may well pass as a drawing-room table-book, while its accuracy of information gives it a far higher and permanent value.

We don't know what *differentia* consists in the title of the *Lansdowne Gift-Books* (Werne), but we are glad to see excellent old Mrs. Trimmer's *Story of the Robins* reproduced in the series.

Stories of School Life (Nimmo) is, we think, a reprint. They are written with a purpose, and a good purpose too, by way of contrast to the highly-spiced romances which in some quarters are thought to suit boys, which they invariably fail to do.

Mr. J. C. Hotten has reprinted Thomas Moore's *Anacreon*—Anacreon so called, because it is doubtful how much which goes under Anacreon's name is genuine—and everybody knows that, in addition to the grossest inaccuracy, Mr. Moore imported into

his verses another sort of grossness. A French illustrator, a M. Girodet de Roussy, is quite equal in indecency to his original, and in this volume we have a collection which we suppose was intended to form a compendium of classical nudities and profligacies in every way offensive and revolting.

The *Jackdaw of Rheims* (Bentley) has been reprinted from the *Ingoldsby Legends* in a separate form, illustrated by coloured lithographs, which are no great success. But Mr. Barham's whole work, the famous *Ingoldsby Legends*, has just been issued by the original publisher, Mr. Bentley, with the full dignity of a classic, in two large volumes, *cum notis variorum*, or at any rate with notes by the author's son. This is of course the Library Edition, and it deserves its honours; and oh! what a contrast the fine old etchings of Leech and Cruikshank present to the tasteless and thoughtless comic limners of our degenerate days.

We are not quite sure as to the philological value of Captain Burton's *Vikram and the Vampire* (Longmans), which is presented to us as the original source of much of the conventional European romance; but merely as a story-book, that is a set of wild stories, hideous enough occasionally, but always readable, this volume deserves to be recommended. That wild and eccentric genius, M. Griset, is quite at home in illustrating these diabolic tales, and both author, or translator, and illustrator have worked *con amore*.

Cassell, Petter, and Galpin have published an *Æsop's Fables* illustrated by the same M. Griset, who, though unequal, and who often gives us inaccuracy instead of grotesque, is always lively and vigorous.

From Mr. Routledge, from Mr. Warne, from Messrs. Ward, Lock, and Tyler, from Mr. Nelson, from Messrs. Griffith and Farran, from Messrs. Dean, we have Toy Books, Nursery Books, Infants' Books, Children's Books in every conceivable variety of form, colour, size, and price. Like Pompey and Cæsar they are very much alike—especially Pompey; but which is Pompey and which Cæsar it would be hard to say. Nor is it of any great consequence, for they are all good, and the skill and care bestowed on these manufactures as well as the number of articles produced is quite surprising. *Magazines for the Young*, *Annals for the Young*, *Boys' Magazines*, *Good Words*, *Leisure Hours*—what pen, what industry, what conscientious and scrupulous desire to give every man, and even every publisher, his due, is sufficient even to enumerate these bright sparkling creatures of the hour? And yet they have their place and their function in the great economy, as of education and amusement, so of the trade, and as they all appear to be equally good, we must be pardoned for speaking of them with a rapid monotony of annual salutation.

Of *Annals* and *Almanacks* which keep up their established reputation we may mention, 1. The always welcome *British Almanack and Companion*, the best and most portable annual register. 2. Gutch's *Scientific Almanack*, a complete register of the progress of contemporaneous science. 3. The *City Diary*, chiefly devoted to the interests of the Corporation of London. 4. *Letts's Diaries and Pocket Books*, and 5. *De la Rue's Diaries and Pocket Books* (which may be bracketed), suited to every taste, purse and fancy, and also to every prejudice, which is no prejudice, resulting from favourable experience of usefulness; 6. The *Art Union Almanack*; also 7, last and not least, *Punch's Pocket Book*, with a most amusing frontispiece by Tenniel.

By the way, why will so many almanack makers display their perverse ingenuity in assigning a "remarkable event" to every day in the calendar? They must be hardly pressed for *memorabilia* when they have recourse, as one painful investigator has, to such recondite and astounding facts as that, "Jan. 27, the *Beggar's Opera* first played, 1728," and that May 7 is remarkable for "Wilkes released from the Tower." The exigencies of space sometimes require abbreviation in the diurnal entries of these startling events; hence a kind of shorthand is used in some almanacks which is extremely perplexing. In one we find under Jan. 29 this enigmatic announcement:—"Trl. of Fns. remd. to Ldn.," which after as much trouble as it would cost to decipher a Rune or a line of cuneiform, we conjecture may mean "Trial of Fenians removed to London."

The *Midnight Sky* (Religious Tract Society) is a familiar and popular sketch of such portion of practical astronomy as relates to the constellations, which are figured in star-maps. We owe this careful manual to Mr. Dunkin of the Greenwich Observatory.

A fifth series of Leech's *Pictures of Life and Character*, that is, *Sketches from the Collection of Mr. Punch* (Bradbury and Evans) is as welcome as its predecessors. But is it quite politic in the publishers to suggest in so pointed a way, while looking at that picture, to think of this?

Once more we have to apologize. Mr. Sotheran as publisher, Mr. Noel Humphreys as producer, may well object to the appearance of the *Masterpieces of the Early Printers and Engravers*, a series now completed, in the same review with *Nursery Books*. This fine volume deserves that commendation for which, if we cannot afford space appropriate to its merits, we must make up for by heartiness. Here we have a substantial and large contribution not only to bibliography, but to the history of art; for the repertory includes not only printers' marks, monograms, initial letters, and tail-pieces, but fine specimens of Albert Dürer, Cranach, Wohlgemuth, and the great engravers of the fifteenth-sixteenth century. The series is carried down to the time of Jean Goujon, a French artist of mark; and if only as an illustration of the progress—if progress it is—of wood-cutting, Mr. Humphreys' researches have special merit. But the book is more than this; and

we recommend all who possess what is really a library, to get it. The illustrations are facsimiles produced by photo-lithography.

From the same enterprising publisher, Mr. Sotheran, we have an *embarras des richesses*:—1, A new (and we think reduced) re-issue of Nash's well-known *Mansions of England in the Olden Time*—a most valuable series of Elizabethan and Jacobean houses; and 2, A set of views of the *Lake District*, composed of landscapes, executed in coloured lithographs. The artist is Mr. Pyne, whose colouring is always bright and telling, to the extent of gorgeousness.

Wonders of Italian Art (Low and Marston) is the translation of a sketch of a large subject, which, though only a sketch, is careful, and is superior to the illustrations, which, however, form good memoranda of the finest pictures in the world.

Adam's Sacred Allegories—best known by the familiar *Shadow of the Cross*—has acquired the dignity of a classic, and is as necessary to all families as the *Christian Year*. From Messrs. Rivington we have received—we scarcely know whether this is its first appearance—a handsome edition especially adapted for the *clerical* season, with original designs, chiefly by Cope and Horsley, whose art is quite suited to a book of this religious character.

Little Lads and Lasses (Seeley) is remarkable for some charming German illustrations in colours by Oscar Pletsch. The *Lost Legends of the Nursery Songs* (Bell and Daldy), to be noticed for some fair drawings from designs by the authoress, Mrs.—or Miss—Clark, but especially for some very quaint stories which expand into a vast legend of fairy lore the queer old rhymes in which years ago Mr. Bellenden Ker found deep political satire of the mediæval period enveloped in very queer Low German speech. *Captain Wolf and other Sketches* (Seeley) is a cat and dog and horse book, in which the subjects are treated as in a biographical history—that is, we have the life, character, and adventures of foxes and cocks and wolves just, as they say, like Christians. *Robinson Crusoe* (J. C. Hotten), illustrated by Ernest Griset, and admirably he is suited for the work; and here we have an edition which we can safely say deserves not only a high place among the many illustrated *Crusoes*—and we remember what famous artists have illustrated *Crusoe*—but has many special merits of its own, and bids well for absolute superiority. It contains also an introduction, chiefly bibliographical, by Mr. Lee, who has paid much attention to Defoe's writings.

The *Swiss Family Robinson* (Nelson) is a new and illustrated edition of a book which used to be a great favourite, and though rather goody and ostentatiously didactic, contains a good deal of incident and adventure; and *King Gab's Story Bag* (Cassell) is grotesque and lively.

Leigh Hunt's *Essays*—or some of them—are reprinted and published by Mr. Hotten, edited by Mr. Ollier. An unequal, but always readable, writer was Leigh Hunt, not without vanity; and the editor might as well have given us an interpretation of his dictum that "his (Leigh Hunt's) memory is a perfume in the heart of literature."

The *Lord's Prayer Illustrated* (Longmans) by Mr. Pickersgill and the Dean of Canterbury. The drawings are large, vigorous, and firm, and somewhat German in feeling. The Dean of Canterbury's verses are pure and graceful. We cannot quite understand—but it is so—how the drawings preceded the poetry, for Mr. Pickersgill seems to have had a story of some sort, for which the Dean wrote appropriate verses. We should have thought that it had been the other way.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

OF all Mr. Carlyle's eccentricities, none has been more injurious to his character as a writer of sound judgment than his apparently irrational affection for Frederick William the father of Frederick the Great, commonly regarded as the model of a coarse, surly, stingy, ill-conditioned despot. At first sight it might now appear as if Mr. Carlyle were at length about to be avenged of his censors, when we find an historian of the eminence of J. G. Droysen* undertaking the apology, we might almost term it the panegyric, of this much-abused sovereign. On a closer examination, however, it will appear that Herr Droysen's point of view has in reality but little in common with Mr. Carlyle's. Mr. Carlyle admires his hero for his failings, Herr Droysen in spite of them. It is precisely the display of brute force in its most uncompromising form that captivates the imagination of the apostle of force, whose constitutional sympathy, moreover, for any object whatever is pretty sure to be in the ratio of its angularity and grotesqueness. Mr. Carlyle does indeed make out a strong case for Frederick William as a ruler, but we cannot help feeling that his admiration actually rests on different grounds. He may respect Frederick William as a monarch, but he adores him as a barbarian. Droysen follows a different line of vindication, and one much more likely to commend itself to ordinary readers. He neither justifies nor ignores the failings of Frederick William, but he throws them into the background. He takes care not to represent them as the salient features of his character. He insinuates that their prominence is mainly due to the tattle of valets and waiting-women, or the spleen of baffled diplomatists. He depicts the King's merits in the strongest light, and makes us ashamed of having hitherto allowed such mere trivialities to obscure the praise due to such rare energy,

* Friedrich Wilhelm I., König von Preussen. Von J. G. Droysen, 2 Bde. Leipzig: Veit & Co. London: Williams & Norgate.

sagacity, frugality, and conscientiousness. The execution of his design involves an elaborate history of the domestic and foreign, more especially the foreign, policy of Prussia during Frederick William's reign. The subject is far too complicated to be entered upon here, but it may be said that the treatment of it shows Herr Droysen's complete control over his immense mass of material, and his extraordinary power of arrangement and exposition. The great advance of Prussia in power and prosperity under her King is undeniable, and few will dispute that his skilful administration during a period of profound peace prepared the way for the military triumphs of his successor.

The third part of George Heseckiel's *Life of Count Bismark* * brings the statesman's eventful history down to the present period. It contains some interesting letters written to his family from Biarritz, but is poorer in these documents than the preceding parts, and consequently less valuable. The author's own narrative and reflections are as evidently made to order as any piece of manufactured goods. The character of the book is amusingly expressed by the illustrations; one of which, for example, represents Count Bismark laying down the law to the French Ambassador, who listens with an air of profound humility. We should like to see a French artist's conception of this scene.

Dr. Schlesinger's *History of Bohemia* † is, as the writer candidly acknowledges, in some degree a party history, being undertaken to present the German side of the Bohemian question, and to rectify what the author and his countrymen regard as the misstatements of the Czech historians. The work is consequently necessary to those who wish to study Bohemian history from a German as well as a Slavonic point of view. It is full of matter, respectable in point of style, and excellent in point of temper.

A history of indirect taxation in Germany until the establishment of the Zollverein, by Dr. J. Falke ‡, is a work of great merit and considerable importance. The author traces the theory of indirect taxation to its rudimentary stage in the early German Empire, when it was imposed on the principle of exacting compensation for services rendered by the State in the construction and maintenance of the means of communication, and the protection afforded to life and property. The excessive multiplication of such imposts, occasioned by the disintegration of the Empire into separate States, destroyed the elasticity of this system, and excise duties were introduced as a supplementary source of revenue. Then came the era of protective or prohibitory duties, imposed in the first instance to prevent the export of valuable commodities, especially the precious metals; then in the interest of the native manufacturer, or more commonly of the monopolies fostered by the State. In the eighteenth century almost every German sovereign was a manufacturer on his own account, and naturally tolerated no competition in his own dominions. Frederick the Great, in particular, carried prohibition to the uttermost. In Dr. Falke's opinion, this system, however unsound in the abstract, was justified as a temporary expedient by the total paralysis of national industry which had supervened upon the Thirty Years' War. He is himself a free-trader, and while approving of the existing fiscal system as a stage of transition, regards it as merely introductory to a better order of things, when indirect taxation is to disappear altogether.

The correspondence of Humboldt with the Russian Minister of Finance, Count von Cancrin §, forms an interesting appendix to his travels in the Ural Mountains, described in the work published by his companion, Rose. The correspondence originated in Cancrin's application for Humboldt's advice on the subject of the platina currency which the Russian Government was then anxious to introduce. This led to a proposal that Humboldt should personally visit the platina and gold-producing districts of the Ural, and hence the journey, which occupied the greater part of the year 1829. The correspondence is very agreeable reading, exhibiting the munificent support and genuine interest of the Russian Government on the one hand, and the simplicity, disinterestedness, and unquenchable ardour of the traveller on the other. The subjects treated are chiefly geological and mineralogical. Out of twenty thousand roubles allotted for the expenses of the expedition, Humboldt only spent twelve thousand five hundred, and returned the rest. His memoir on the question of the platina currency is also printed here, and is a monument of his sagacity. He observed that the proposed coinage was objectionable, as from its scarcity the price of the metal was ill defined, and it would be impossible to fix a standard of value. This proved to be the case, the immense depreciation in the price of the metal leading to the discontinuance of the currency after some years' trial.

Dr. Semper's lectures on the Philippines || are far from forming a complete monograph of the subject, but are very interesting so far as they go. He has bestowed particular attention on the religious ideas of the inhabitants, in the thoroughness and permanence

of whose conversion to Christianity he does not seem to confide overmuch. The beneficent action of the missionaries is not disputed, and indeed the problem of the government of a semi-barbarous race seems to have been nowhere so happily solved as in the Philippines. Fortunately for themselves, the natives possessed no gold to tempt the rapacity of their conquerors. Much discontent nevertheless exists among the more intelligent Creoles, and political convulsions may be anticipated sooner or later. Dr. Semper predicts that in such a case the Chinese immigrants, whose number is largely increasing, will play a considerable part. The mixture of the Chinese with the aborigines is said to form a fine race, susceptible of receiving European ideas. The chief bank of Manila is in the hands of people of this description. Treating of other races, Dr. Semper controverts the common idea of the existence of smooth-haired negroes in the Philippines and Formosa. He says that the tribes to which this description has been considered applicable are merely Malays, somewhat darker than ordinary. The much talked-of Alfoursos or Harafoursas of Celebes and the Moluccas are, according to him, equally non-existent, and he seems to be of opinion that the Papuans are ethnologically identical with the Australians. A chapter of some length is devoted to controverting Darwin's views on the formation of coral islands. The coast of the Philippines is, he says, rising rapidly.

The interesting little group of nationalities lying around the eastern shores of the Baltic and of the Gulf of Bothnia has lately attracted considerable attention, and formed the subject of several publications. Some of these, relating mainly to the political circumstances of these countries, have already been noticed by us, and others of the same type continue to make their appearance. Another class, of merely descriptive or scientific works, may here be grouped together by themselves. A little volume of sketches from Lithuania, by O. Glagau *, is pleasantly written, and full of information. The writer appears to entertain a rather high idea of the national intelligence of the Lithuanians, and says that the apathetic temperament which has probably been the main obstacle to their becoming a great nation has at all events rendered them amenable to discipline, hence good soldiers and good subjects. Their bad qualities are craftiness, inhospitality, and penuriousness, the latter only relaxed in favour of their clergy. The Lithuanian is religious by nature, and the national character seems to present a strong affinity to the Celtic in this respect. He is inclined to Catholicism when brought under Catholic influences; when this is not the case, he is prone to set up his conventicle like the Welshman or Protestant Irishman, rather however as supplementary than as antagonistic to the Established Church. In secular concerns this enthusiasm assumes the guise of a deep and tender melancholy, which pervades the popular literature. The amorous poetry of Lithuania is remarkably exempt from the sensuous element; the submissiveness of the rustic lover would satisfy the most exaggerated requisitions of chivalry; and the Bacchanalian songs, or what are meant for such, sung to a plaintive tune in a minor key, produce almost the effect of dirges. Herr Glagau gives an amusing account of his interview with the enthusiastic Lithuanian scholar Gisevius, who endeavoured to convince him that all the modes of ancient Greek music were faithfully preserved by his countrymen. The traveller does not presume to question the fact, but admits that he did not entirely apprehend the demonstration. Of the marvellous affinity of Lithuanian to the classical tongues there can be no doubt, though not every sentence is so startlingly like Latin as *Dievas dave dantis=Deus dedit dentes*. The *Laimos* which play so great a part in the popular mythology are evidently the classical *Lamia*, and the classical drink, *alus*, is as like ours in sound as in substance. Many examples given by Herr Glagau show that the language is susceptible of extraordinary point and conciseness. It is the more remarkable that it should be so largely indebted to German, not, as might have been expected, for abstract terms, but for the names of the most ordinary things. This appears from an unpretending but valuable little work on the Lettish branch of the language by C. Baumgärtel.† The phenomena presented by the alliance of Lettish and German are certainly very singular, and are important from their bearing on comparative philology as a science. Dr. Bertram's ‡ work on Esthonia (*Wagien*) is hardly a scientific book, but incidentally contains some valuable philological information. The writer's principal object seems to have been the collection and illustration of the folk-lore of the Esthonians, but he touches in a desultory way upon almost everything relating to them. His style is quaint and amusing. A little work on Finland, by Dr. Helms §, presents a very agreeable summary of information on most Finnish matters. On the whole, the author's report is very favourable. The Finns are apparently better off under Russia than they ever were before; the Russian Government is nevertheless not popular among them. The educated classes are in general either philo-Swedes, who aspire to enter the anticipated Scandinavian confederation, or "Fenno-maniacs," whose aim is to maintain the Finnish nationality and language. Their efforts in

* *Das Buch vom Grafen Bismarck*. Von George Heseckiel. Abth. 3. Bielefeld: Klasing. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Geschichte Böhmens*. Von Dr. Ludwig Schlesinger. Prag: Calve. London: Nutt.

‡ *Die Geschichte des deutschen Zollvereins*. Von Dr. Johannes Falke. Leipzig: Veit & Co. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Im Ural und Altai*. Briefwechsel zwischen A. von Humboldt und Graf Georg von Cancrin. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Die Philippinen und ihre Bewohner*. Sechs Skizzen. Von Dr. C. Semper. Würzburg: Stuber. London: Williams & Norgate.

* *Litauen und die Litauer. Gesammelte Skizzen*. Von Otto Glagau. Tilsit: Reylander. London: Nutt.

† *Die deutsche Bestandtheile des lettischen Wortschatzes*. Von C. Baumgärtel. Leipzig: Graebner. London: Nutt.

‡ *Wagien. Baltische Studien und Erinnerungen*. Von Dr. Bertram. Dorpat: Gläser. London: Nutt.

§ *Finland und die Finnländer*. Von Dr. H. Helms. Leipzig: Fritzsche. London: Nutt.

the latter direction have not been unsuccessful; the Finnish tongue boasts translations from Shakspeare and Goethe, and its indigenous literature is rapidly on the increase. The Finn Runeberg is, according to Dr. Helms, the most distinguished living poet of Northern Europe, but he writes in Swedish.

While our older Phenikologists are busy furnishing minute additions to our knowledge of the lore and language of primitive Canaan, one of the younger students has taken up the more comprehensive task of Gesenius and Movers. Dr. Schröder* has had the advantage of many new finds unknown to his two predecessors. Accordingly his grammatical sketch is much fuller, and on some points more correct than theirs. Yet there is much that is mere conjecture, and must not be taken too seriously by the beginner. Of the industry of which the book bears evidence, we cannot speak too highly, though when Dr. Schröder appears as an original decipherer, he does not always seem happy. There is a general want of Semitic *Sprachgefühl* perceptible. This, however, does not take away from the general merits of the book, which, in one shape or another, as notes, references, illustrations, &c., contains probably the whole Phœnician material now in our possession. The tables added to the book are, with one exception, extremely well executed, and we can only regret that the author (or publisher) has not seen fit to complete the collection at once. A few more tables would have brought the book up to the dignity of a "Thesaurus," and enhanced its usefulness very considerably. Let us hope that a new edition will contain also the now omitted paleographical material, together with much that may in the interval have come to light.

We have before us another Phœnician book†, which is evidently the work of a man who should be taken care of by his friends. The author has written on a vast variety of subjects, and if not much learning, yet much printing, seems to have reduced his mind to a fearful and wonderful state. There is not one sane line in this whole production, and the worst of it is that the author is in earnest, as is evidenced by the wild abuse he showers about him with no sparing hand. The only thing we will tell our readers is the fact made out by our author that King David danced a *polka* before the ark, "the *polka* being a Jewish dance."

Dr. Ethé's *Eastern Studies*‡ are pleasant reading enough, not so much, perhaps, for the general reader, for whom they are originally intended, as rather for the men of the craft. While the author disclaims having written "scientific" studies, they are yet far too abstruse, we take it, to become very popular. They consist of three divisions, the first containing certain novelettes in imitation of, and partly based upon, Arabic stories. Among these "The Bedouin and His Wife" seems to us the best told, although even to it we would not give the epithet which the author himself (inadvertently, let us hope) applies to all his stories—namely, "fascinating." The second division treats of Sufism in Persian Poetry, of Ambra and Pearls, and of the Persian Passion Drama—mostly after recent travellers' accounts—and gives further two specimens of translations from the *Anvârishahî*, and from Kazwini's *Cosmography*. Hilali's "King and Dervish," done into German metre and rhyme, concludes the little volume, which we heartily recommend to all those who take an interest in Eastern lore.

F. Nutzhorn§ was a young Danish philologist, whose sudden death was regarded as a serious loss by his countrymen. Their regrets and anticipations are fully justified by his work on the Homeric poems, which is a most powerful defence of what we shall take the liberty of styling the common sense view of the question. It rests upon the assumption that this kind of sense may be predicated of the ancients, and that their testimony is to be received when it is unanimous, and does not involve physical impossibilities. Nutzhorn's argument is condensed by his learned editor Madvig—who adds the full weight of his authority to it—into two observations; namely, that the ancients having discerned no inconsistency between the editorship of Pisistratus and the authorship of Homer is a sufficient proof that there was none, and that a Greek poet was bound to satisfy Greek canons of epic unity, as he notoriously did, and not those subsequently laid down by Lachmann. Nutzhorn, indeed, grants that the plan of the *Iliad* was to a certain extent modified during the progress of the work, just as was to be expected in a long poem, in all probability neither planned with much consideration nor revised with much care. We need not go far to find a parallel instance; similar conditions have occasioned similar results in *Pickwick*. He is disposed to reject the Pisistratus tradition altogether, which is perhaps the weakest part of his argument. In his vindication of the internal unity of the *Iliad* he is largely indebted to Colonel Mure. The book is a gratifying symptom of the reaction which seems likely to set in against the spirit of critical paradox. The principles here laid down will be found applicable to many questions besides that of the authenticity of Homer.

* *Die Phönizische Sprache*. Entwurf einer Grammatik. Von P. Schröder. Halle: Waisenhausbuchhandlung. London: Nutt.

† *Die Phönizisch-Cypriische Lösung*. Von A. Helfferich. Frankfurt a. M.: Winter.

‡ *Morgenländische Studien*. Von H. Ethé. Leipzig: Fues. London: Nutt.

§ *Die Entstehungsweise der Homerischen Gedichte*. Untersuchungen über die Berechtigung der auflösenden Homerkritik. Von F. Nutzhorn. Mit einem Vorwort von J. N. Madvig. Leipzig: Teubner. London: Williams & Norgate.

Jacob La Roche's *Homeric Investigations** are exclusively philological. Dr. Buchholtz's essays on the ethics of Pindar and Æschylus† are very interesting expositions of the two writers who combined a devout belief in the old Greek religion with a half-conscious tendency to purify and ennoble it. Later thinkers were inevitably forced by the intellectual progress of the age into a more or less sceptical attitude of mind, more in harmony with modern feeling, but incompatible with the impressive solemnity of their predecessors.

A monograph on Guillem de Cabestanh, the Troubadour, by Dr. F. Hüffer‡, is interesting both in itself and as an example of the thorough investigation of a literary question. It contains the biography of the minstrel from Provençal sources, with an inquiry as to their authenticity; a critical edition of his poems in the original language, with various readings, and a discussion of the metrical points involved; and a translation of three of the pieces. De Cabestanh's history is singularly romantic. Eleven poems are attributed to him, four of which, in Dr. Hüffer's opinion, are spurious.

Four novelettes from the Russian of Turgueneff§ may be recommended to the attention of readers desirous of making the acquaintance of this celebrated novelist without having to learn his language. They are slight in subject and treatment, but all decidedly exhibit the hand of a master. The first is the most elaborate; it is a pathetic story of unhappy love. The characters are delineated with a firm touch and great knowledge of human nature; although, as with so many of his contemporaries, M. Turgueneff's forte seems rather to lie in the portrayal of weakness than of strength. The construction of the story is somewhat inartistic, in other respects it is a masterpiece. The fourth tale is similar in subject and more impressive in diction, but much less varied and altogether more commonplace. The third is narrated in letters—an unfortunate form. The second is a humorous tale, which embodies a consummate portrait of a loose but not bad-hearted female adventurer.

Luise Mühlbach's ladies' annual is a pretty little volume, very suitable for the initiation of female students into German. It chiefly consists of novelettes founded on the histories of celebrated women, but also contains a translation of the fragments of Sappho, and a memoir of the Empress Charlotte of Mexico.

A Christmas book of poetry for children¶ is a creditable performance in respect of the text, but derives its claim to notice here from being illustrated by the silhouettes of Paul Konewka. The talents of this distinguished virtuoso in his peculiar branch of art have never been exhibited to more advantage. The animation of his groups of gambolling children and animals is extraordinary, and the effect produced seems marvellous when the simplicity of the means employed is taken into account.

* *Homerische Untersuchungen*. Von Jacob La Roche. Leipzig: Teubner. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Die sittliche Weltanschauung des Pindaros und Æschylos*. Von Dr. E. Buchholtz. Leipzig: Teubner. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Der Troubadour Guillem de Cabestanh. Sein Leben und seine Werke*. Von F. Hüffer. Berlin: Heimann. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Vier Novellen*. Von Iwan Turgenev. Mitau: Behre. London: Nutt.

¶ *Damen-Almanach*. Von Luise Mühlbach. Leipzig: Dürr. London: Nutt.

¶ *Der schwarze Peter. Ein Bilderbuch für artige Kinder*. Mit Reimen von J. Trojan. Holzschnitte von A. Clotz, nach Silhouetten von Paul Konewka. Stuttgart: Hoffmann. London: Trübner & Co.

SPECIAL NOTICE.

The forthcoming number of the SATURDAY REVIEW will be published early on Friday morning, the 24th instant.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

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| | |
|-------------------------|---|
| Matriculation | Monday, January 10, and Monday, June 27, 1870; and Monday, January 9, 1871. |
| Bachelor of Arts | First B.A., Monday, July 18; Second B.A., Monday, October 21; Branch I., Monday, June 6; Branch II., Monday, June 13; Branch III., Monday, June 20. |
| Master of Arts | First D. Lit., Monday, June 6; Second D. Lit., Tuesday, October 11. |
| Doctor of Literature | Tuesday, November 22. |
| Scriptural Examinations | First B.Sc., Monday, July 18; Second B.Sc., Monday, October 21. |
| Bachelor of Science | Within the first Fourteen days of June. |
| Doctor of Science | First L.L.B., 1 Monday, January 3, 1870; Second L.L.B., 1 Monday, November 7. |
| Bachelor of Laws | Thursday, January 13, 1870. |
| Doctor of Laws | Preliminary Scientific, Monday, July 18; First M.L., Monday, July 25; Second M.L., Monday, November 7. |
| Bachelor of Medicine | Tuesday, November 29. |
| Master in Surgery | Monday, November 28. |
| Doctor of Medicine | Monday, November 28. |
| Examination for Women | Monday, May 2. |

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J. THOMSON, Chairman.

PHENIX FIRE OFFICE, Lombard Street and Charing Cross.
Established 1769.
Insurances effected in all parts of the World.
Prompt and liberal Loss Settlements.
The whole Fire Insurance Duty is now Remitted.
GEO. W. LOVELL, Secretary.

HAND-IN-HAND FIRE and LIFE INSURANCE
SOCIETY,
1 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON, E.C.

The Oldest Insurance Office in existence. Founded and still conducted on the Mutual
System.
Large Returns made to Members in each Department.
The whole of the Profits are divided annually amongst the Members of Five years' standing
and upwards—there being no Shareholders.
The rate of abatement of Premium thereby given for the current year on Life Policies is
60 per cent. for the Old Series, and 50 per cent. for the New Series.
The rate of return on Annuity Fire Policies (charged at 1s. 6d. per cent.) is 65 per cent.
The Directors are willing to appoint as Agents persons of good position and character.

December 24, 1869.
Claims paid on Life Policies to this date 4738,092
Returned in Abatement of Premiums ditto 550,544
ASSETS.
Accumulated Fund £1,252,174
Present Value of Life Premiums 1,571,269
LIABILITIES.
Present Value of Sums Insured (£166,298) £1,542,261
Present Value of Life Annuities (£8,737 per annum) 68,356

Further details as to the Assets and Liabilities of the Office may be had on application to the
Secretary.

IMPERIAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY,
1 OLD BROAD STREET, E.C., and 16 and 17 PALL MALL, S.W.
INSTITUTED 1800.
CAPITAL, £1,500,000. PAID UP AND INVESTED, £700,000.

Insurances against Fire can be effected with this Company on every description of Property, at
moderate rates of premium.
This recent abolition of the duty on Fire Insurance should induce Policy-holders and all
intending Insurers to protect themselves fully from loss by Fire, which can now be done at a net
annual cost of from 1s. 6d. per cent. upwards.
Septennial Policies charged only Six Years' Premium.
Prompt and liberal Settlement of Claims.
The usual Commission allowed on Foreign and Ship Insurances.
JAMES HOLLAND, Superintendent.

IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,
CHIEF OFFICE—1 OLD BROAD STREET, LONDON.
BRANCH OFFICE—16 PALL MALL, LONDON.
INSTITUTED 1820.

The outstanding Sums assured by this Company, with the Bonuses accrued thereon, amount
to about £2,500,000, and the Assets, consisting entirely of Investments in First-class Securities,
amount to upwards of £500,000.
The Assurance Reserve Fund alone is equal to more than nine times the Premium Income.
It will hence be seen that ample SECURITY is guaranteed to the Policy-holders. Attention is
invited to the Prospectus of the Company, from which it will appear that all kinds of Assur-
ances may be effected on the most moderate terms and most liberal conditions.
The Company also grants Annuities and Endowments.
Prospectuses may be obtained at the Offices as above, and of the Agents throughout the
Kingdom.
ANDREW BADEN, Actuary and Manager.

ROYAL EXCHANGE ASSURANCE CORPORATION.
(Established A.D. 1720, by Charter of King George I., and confirmed by Special
Acts of Parliament.)
CHIEF OFFICE—ROYAL EXCHANGE, LONDON; BRANCH—29 PALL MALL.

Medical Referee—SAMUEL SOLLY, Esq., F.R.S.
FIRE, LIFE, and MARINE ASSURANCES on liberal terms.
FIRE DUTY.—This Tax having been abolished the PREMIUM is NOW the only charge
for FIRE INSURANCES.
Life Assurances with, or without, participation in Profits.
Divisions of Profit every Five Years.
Any sum up to £15,000 insurable on the same Life.
The Corporation bear the cost of Policy Stamps and Medical Fees.
A liberal participation in Profits, with the guarantee of a large invested Capital Stock, and
exemption, under Royal Charter, from the liabilities of Partnership.
The advantages of modern practice, with the security of an Office whose resources have been
tested by the experience of a Century and a Half.
A Prospectus and Table of Bonus will be forwarded on application.
ROBERT P. STEELE, Secretary.

THE COMMERCIAL UNION ASSURANCE COMPANY
FIRE—LIFE—MARINE.
Capital, fully Subscribed £2,500,000
Capital paid up £200,000 | Invested Assets £600,000
OFFICES—19 and 20 CORNHILL, LONDON.

Directors.
John Boustead, Esq. (Price & Boustead).
Jeremiah Colman, Esq. (J. & Colman).
Alfred Giles, Esq., 9 Adelphi Terrace, W.C.
Nehemiah Griffiths, Esq., Lee Road, Lee,
Kent.
Samuel Hanson, Esq. (S. Hanson & Son).
Frederick W. Harris, Esq. (Dixon & Harris).
Francis Hicks, Esq. (Thomas & Francis
Hicks).
John Hodgson, Esq. (Grant, Hodgson & Co.).
F. Larkworthy, Esq. (Bank of New Zealand).
Charles J. Leaf, Esq. (Leaf, Sons, & Co.).
William Leach, Esq., 14 Eastcheap.
A. J. Mundella, Esq., M.P., 116 Wood Street,
E.C., and Nottingham.
Henry W. Peck, Esq., M.P. (Peck Brothers
& Co.).
Alexander Robertson, Esq., 20 Grafton Street,
W.
D. Cooper Scott, Esq., London and Brazil.
Alexander Sim, Esq. (Churchill & Sim).
Henry Trower, Esq. (Trower & Lawren).
James P. Woodhouse, Esq. (J. C. & M. Wood-
house).

FIRE DEPARTMENT—Manager, E. COZENS SMITH, Esq.
Moderate Rates of Premium, based on an equitable system of Assessment. Prompt Settle-
ment of Claims.
All Policies are Issued Free of Duty, and no Fees or Stamps are charged.
MARINE DEPARTMENT—Underwriter, J. CARR SAUNDERS, Esq.
Risks underwritten in London on current terms.
LIFE DEPARTMENT—Actuary and Manager, W. P. PATTISON, Esq.
Complete Accounts of Income and Expenditure, and full particulars of the Valuation,
showing with clearness the position of the Life Branch, are issued to Policyholders.
The Life Funds, by deed of settlement, are invested in the names of special Trustees for the
security of Life Policyholders, and the expenses of Management are limited to 10 per cent. on
the Premium income. The following are examples of Bonuses declared on December 31, 1867,
upon Policies effected in 1863:

| Age at Entry. | Sum Assured. | Bonus Added. | Annual Premium. | Yearly Rate of Bonus per cent. on Sum Assured. | Per Centage of Bonus on Total Premiums paid. |
|------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------------|--|--|
| 30 | £1,000 | £100 | £15 8 4 | £2 0 0 | £100 0 0 |
| 40 | 1,000 | 100 | 24 10 2 | 2 5 0 | 85 16 0 |
| 50 | 1,000 | 100 | 33 1 8 | 3 5 0 | 66 1 5 |
| 60 | 1,000 | 100 | 43 16 8 | 4 0 0 | 50 3 9 |

ALEX. SUTHERLAND, Secretary.
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THE LONDON ASSURANCE CORPORATION,

For FIRE, LIFE, and MARINE ASSURANCES.

Incorporated by Royal Charter A.D. 1720.

OFFICES—7 ROYAL EXCHANGE, E.C., AND 7 PALL MALL, S.W.

JAMES BLYTH, Esq., Governor.
EDWIN GOWER, Esq., Sub-Governor.
DAVID POWELL, Esq., Deputy-Governor.

Directors.

NATH. ALEXANDER, Esq.
J. A. ARBUTHNOT, Esq.
HARVEY BRAND, Esq.
EDWARD BUDD, Esq.
ALFRED D. CHAPMAN, Esq.
MARK W. COLLET, Esq.
Sir F. CURRIE, Bart.
F. G. DALGETY, Esq.
BONAMY DOBREE, Esq.
JOHN ENTWISLE, Esq.
GEORGE L. M. GIBBS, Esq.
ROBERT GILLESPIE, Esq.

HARRY GEO. GORDON, Esq.
A. C. GUTHRIE, Esq.
JOHN A. HANKEY, Esq.
LOUIS HUTH, Esq.
HENRY J. B. KENDALL, Esq.
CHARLES LYALL, Esq.
Capt. R. W. PELL, R.N.
WILLIAM RENNIE, Esq.
F. F. ROBERTSON, Esq.
ROBERT RYRIE, Esq.
LEWIS A. WALLACE, Esq.
WILLIAM B. WATSON, Esq.

The Share Capital of this Corporation is £266,550, of which One-half, or £133,275, has been paid up. The total Invested Funds on December 31, 1868, amounted to £3,502,540.

A printed Abstract of the General Balance-Sheet, together with particulars of the Life Department, may be had on application at the Head Office. The following items relating to the Life Business have been extracted therefrom:

| | |
|-----------------------------|------------|
| Policies in force for | £1,504,489 |
| Annual Income from— | |
| Premiums | £159,083 |
| Interest | 54,569 |

| | |
|----------------------------|------------|
| Accumulated Premiums | 213,643 |
| Sum Assured | £1,231,150 |

The Fire Duty having been abolished, Fire Insurances are now effected without any charge beyond the Premium.

Marine Insurances can be effected at the Head Office, and at Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Mauritius, Hong Kong, and Shanghai.

JOHN P. LAURENCE, Secretary.

ROCK LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

ESTABLISHED A.D. 1806.

15 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, LONDON, E.C.

Directors.

G. P. Bidder, Esq.
J. G. Dodson, Esq., M.P.
D. A. Freeman, Esq.
G. A. Fuller, Esq.
J. Goddard, Esq.
R. Hudson, Esq., F.R.S.
John Kelk, Esq.
S. Laurence, Esq.
T. H. Longden, Esq.

Lieut.-Gen. Sir G. St. P. Lawrence,
K.C.S.I., C.B.
C. T. Lucas, Esq.
J. D. Magens, Esq.
C. Rivas, Esq.
W. B. Towse, Esq.
H. Tritton, Esq.
S. H. Twining, Esq.

THE ROCK LIFE ASSURANCE COMPANY, which has been established upwards of Half a Century, has an Accumulated Fund of more than THREE MILLIONS STERLING, invested in Mortgages on Land, and other first-class Securities:

| | |
|--|-----------------|
| Viz. on August 30, 1868 | £3,172,604 15 8 |
| Sum Assured—exclusive of Bonus Additions—at the Standard Valuation | 5,389,750 2 11 |
| Estimated Liability thereon (Northampton Table of Mortality, 3 per cent. Interest) | 1,481,589 0 4 |
| That is the Half the Fund invested | 2,898,160 19 9 |
| Total Amount of Bonus Additions made to Policies | 532,369 7 8 |
| Amount of Profits divided for the Seven Years ending 29th August, 1868 | 314,867 14 3 |
| Annual Income | 6,037,044 7 7 |

Copies of the Annual Reports and Balance Sheets, as well as of the Periodical Valuation Accounts, Tables of Rates, and every information, to be obtained on application.

JOHN RAYDEN, Actuary.
H. W. PORTER, Sub-Actuary.

THE SCOTTISH WIDOWS' FUND MUTUAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY

Has just published A NEW PROSPECTUS, specially suited to the Present Time.

This Prospectus specifies the Documents necessary to enable any one to form a satisfactory judgment regarding the Financial Condition and General Merits of a Life Assurance Association, and contains—

1. The Last Valuation Balance-Sheet of Assets and Liabilities, with List of the Securities in which the Funds are invested.
2. A detailed Abstract of the Valuation of the Society's Assets and Liabilities under its Policies, in which the mode of valuation of each Policy is made as well known to Actuaries and other persons as it is to the Society's Officers themselves.
3. A Table of Surrender Values, repayable under discontinued Policies of all durations.
4. A Table of Bonuses, added to Policies of all durations.

THE SOCIETY'S RESOURCES ARE

| | |
|------------------------------------|------------|
| A Realised Fund, exceeding | £5,000,000 |
| An Annual Revenue, exceeding | 600,000 |

BY SUCH UNRESERVED DISCLOSURE

as the new Prospectus contains, the great evils inseparable from secrecy and partial publication can alone be guarded against; and in view of probable legislation to compel disclosure regarding the financial condition of all Life Assurance Offices, this new Prospectus is respectfully submitted to the consideration of all concerned.

Copies of the new Prospectus may be had, or will be sent post free, on application.

SAMUEL RALEIGH, Manager.

J. J. P. ANDERSON, Secretary.

HEAD OFFICE: 9 ST. ANDREW SQUARE, EDINBURGH (Nov. 1869).

LONDON OFFICE: 4 ROYAL EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, CORNHILL.

Honorary Board of Directors.

George Young, Esq., Mark Lane.
Charles Edward Pollock, Esq., Q.C.
John Murray, Esq., Publisher, Albemarle Street.
Samuel Laing, Esq., Chairman London and Brighton Railway.
James Anderson, Esq., Q.C., Lincoln's Inn.
The Rev. Alfred Fovah, M.A., St. Olave's Rectory, Hart Street.
Joseph J. Welch, Esq., Messrs. Welch, Margeson, & Co.,
Captains William Picot, Trinity House.
Michael Willis, Esq., Lloyd's.
William George Anderson, Esq., Somerset House.

Chief Agent—Hugh McKean, 4 Royal Exchange Buildings, Cornhill.

West-End: Andrew Thomson, 49 Pall Mall.

SCOTTISH WIDOWS' FUND LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY—NOTICE OF REMOVAL.—THE BUSINESS of this SOCIETY will be carried on at their New Premises, No. 28 CORNHILL, on and after Monday, the 29th instant.

HUGH M'KEAN, Chief Agent.

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SCOTTISH NATIONAL INSURANCE COMPANY may be had on application. It contains, as in past years, the ANNUAL BALANCE-SHEET as well as the particulars of the latest Investigation made to ascertain the Realized Profits. This year there is added an Abstract of the Company's Income and Expenditure. The full and explicit information thus presented has not been given under the compulsion of an Act of Parliament, nor is it volunteered now for the first time to meet the desire for such particulars recently awakened. The Directors have for years past thought it just to the Public and advantageous for this Company to give every one the means of judging of its condition. They have great satisfaction in believing that such information, as well as the facts published, have established for the SCOTTISH NATIONAL COMPANY the reputation of being one of the soundest Offices in the Kingdom.

The points chiefly attended to have been:

1. The Absolute Safety of the Funds.
2. The Absolute Sufficiency of the Funds.
3. The Cultivation of a First-class Home Business.
4. Frequent Distribution of Realized Profits.
5. The utmost Liberality towards the Assured, as regards the conditions of Residence and Travel, facilities for keeping up Policies, &c.

Forms of Proposal, and every information, may be had at the Company's Offices, or from the Agents.

JOHN M. MCANDLISH, Manager.

WM. PORTEOUS, Secretary in London.

EDINBURGH—28 ST. ANDREW SQUARE.

LONDON—49 LOMBARD STREET, E.C.

DIVIDENDS 5 and 10 to 20 PER CENT.

For Safe and Profitable Investments

Read SHARP'S INVESTMENT CIRCULAR (post free).

THE DECEMBER Number ready. CAPITALISTS, SHAREHOLDERS, INVESTORS, TRUSTEES, will find the above Investment Circular a safe, valuable, and reliable Guide. Messrs. SHARP & CO., Stock and Share Brokers, 25 Foultry, London, E.C. (Established 1825.)

LEGAL and GENERAL LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

10 FLEET STREET, TEMPLE BAR, E.C.

Policies of this Society are guaranteed by very ample Funds; receive Nine-tenths of the total Profits as Bonus; enjoy peculiar "Whole-World" and other distinctive privileges; and are protected by special conditions against liability to future question.

| | |
|-------------------------------------|------------|
| Existing Assurances and Bonus | £1,650,000 |
| Invested Funds | 1,540,000 |
| Annual Income | 200,000 |

Annual Accounts have always been published in full detail.

Loans are granted on the Security of Life Interests or Reversions.

E. A. NEWTON, Actuary and Manager.

UNIVERSITY LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY,

25 PALL MALL, LONDON, S.W.

Extension to Winchester, Eton, Harrow, and other Foundation Schools.

President—His Grace ARCHIBALD CAMPBELL, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

Directors.

Sir James Alderson, M.D.
Henry Nugent Banks, Esq.
Francis Barlow, Esq.
Sir Edward M. Butler, Bart., M.P.
Lord Richard Cavendish.
Sir Robert Charles Dallas, Bart.
Francis H. Dickinson, Esq.
Sir Francis H. Doyle, Bart.
Robert Hook, Esq.

Arthur Thomas Malkin, Esq.
The Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Oxford.
The Right Hon. Sir Frederick Pollock, Bart.
Edward Romilly, Esq.
The Most Hon. the Marquis of Salisbury.
The Right Hon. Spencer H. Walpole, M.P.
Sir Thomas Watson, Bart., M.D.
The Right Hon. James Stuart Wortley.
J. Copley Wray, Esq., (Chairman).

Amount of Capital originally subscribed, £500,000, on which has been paid up .. £30,000

Amount accumulated from Premiums .. £100,000

Annual Income .. £90,500

Amount of Policies in Existence and Outstanding Additions, upwards of .. £2,075,000

Addition to Policies nearly 2 per cent. per annum.

The Ninth Quinquennial Division of Profits, June, 1870.

CHARLES MCCABE, Secretary.

SCOTTISH UNION INSURANCE COMPANY (FIRE and LIFE).

Established 1824, and Incorporated by Royal Charter.

LONDON—37 CORNHILL; EDINBURGH and DUBLIN.

The following results of the Operations during the Year ending August 1, 1869, were reported at the Forty-fifth Annual Court of Proprietors, held at Edinburgh on the 1st day of December 1869, namely:

Number of Life Policies issued, 869.

| | |
|--|---------------|
| Sums Insured thereby | £23,213 0 0 |
| Yielding in New Premiums | 14,136 12 6 |
| Invested Funds | 1,062,704 2 0 |
| Amount of Life Insurances in force | 4,460,000 0 0 |
| The Total Revenue of the Company from all sources now amounts to | £3,602 1 2 |

Copies of Prospectus, and all other information, may be obtained at the Offices of the Company, as above, or at any of the Agencies throughout the Kingdom.

ROBERT STRACHAN, Secretary.

JOHN JACKSON, Assistant-Secretary.

PELICAN LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

ESTABLISHED IN 1797.

70 LOMBARD STREET, CITY, AND 57 CHARING CROSS, WESTMINSTER.

Directors.

Henry R. Brand, Esq., M.P.
Octavius E. Coupe, Esq.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.
Henry Farquhar, Esq.
Charles Emanuel Goodhart, Esq.
Jas. A. Gordon, Esq., M.D., F.R.S.

Kirkman D. Hodgson, Esq.
Henry Lancetot Holland, Esq.
Sir John Lubbock, Bart., F.R.S.
John Stewart Oxley, Esq.
Benjamin Shaw, Esq.
Marmaduke Wyvill, Jun., Esq.

FINANCIAL POSITION

| | |
|---|------------|
| Total amount insured with Bonus additions | £3,007,431 |
| Liability on the same at 3 per cent. interest | 846,712 |
| Accumulated Funds | 1,227,253 |
| Annual revenue from Premiums | £22,775 |
| " " from Interest | 57,163 |
| " " from Dividends | 149,950 |

The whole invested in Government, real, and other first-class Securities, in addition to which the Assured have the guarantee of a large and wealthy Proprietary.

For Prospectuses and Forms of Proposal apply at the Offices as above, or to the Agents for the Company.

ROBERT TUCKER, Secretary and Actuary.

TO POLICY-HOLDERS in the ALBERT.—The Directors of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND LIFE and FIRE ASSURANCE TRUST and ANNUITY INSTITUTION invite attention to the following terms upon which Assurances may be effected in substitution for the Policies held in the Albert Life Office.

1. Where the present age does not exceed Fifty next Birthday, and where the Albert Policies have not been in force for more than Five years, it will in most cases be found that a fresh Assurance for an equal amount can be effected with the Church of England at a Premium not exceeding that hitherto paid.

Example.—A Person now aged Thirty (next Birthday), and assured in the Albert Five years ago for £1,000, has been paying an annual Premium of £22 6s. 10d. By now paying £21 5s. 10d. annually to the Church of England, he may obtain a fresh Policy for £1,000, free of all debt, and may also claim upon the Albert Estate for the value of his old Assurance.

2. Where, from advanced age or long duration of the Albert Policy, the Premium charged by the Church of England is in excess of that previously paid to the Albert, the difference between the two rates will be allowed to remain as a debt on the Church of England Policy, bearing Interest at 5 per cent.

Example.—A person now aged Forty (next Birthday), and assured Ten years ago in the Albert for £500, has been paying an annual Premium of £12 8s. 9d. By paying the same Premium in future to the Church of England he may obtain a fresh Policy for £500, subject to an annual debt of only £1 19s. 7d., which may be paid off during lifetime by any Dividends recovered from the Albert Estate, or otherwise, or may remain as a permanent charge until death.

The above conditions of assurance have been devised with the view of consulting the interest and convenience of Albert Policy-holders to the greatest possible extent, while, at the same time, they confer no pecuniary advantage beyond what is accorded to ordinary Assurers in the Church of England, the Directors having felt that any "special" reduced rate of Premium would be most unfair towards existing Policy-holders.

The CHURCH OF ENGLAND ASSURANCE INSTITUTION was established in 1840, and empowered by special Act of Parliament.

Its financial position on the 31st December, 1868, was as follows:

| | |
|---|------------|
| Proprietary Capital | £1,000,000 |
| Total Sums Assured by Life Policies | 5,102,624 |
| Annual Life Income (Premiums) | 61,157 |
| Realized and Invested Funds | 18,066 |
| At the date of the last Actuarial Investigation, 31st December, 1867, the Institution was found to have realized Assets in hand to the extent of over £215 for every £100 of Liability, whether present or prospective. | 421,345 |

STEPHEN H. EMMENS, Secretary.

Detailed Prospectuses, containing the Names of Trustees and Directors, Forms of Proposal, and every requisite Information, will be supplied by the SECRETARY, on application at the Head Office of the Institution, 9 and 10 King Street, Cheapside.

CHRISTMAS SEASON, 1869.

MAPPIN & WEBB request an EARLY INSPECTION

of their large Stock of ELECTRO SILVER PLATE specially designed for this Season.

SPOONS AND FORKS.

| ELECTRO SILVER ON BEST NICKEL. | Plain. | Ornamental. |
|--------------------------------------|--|----------------|
| Tea Spoons per doz. | 1st. Qual. 29s. 2nd Qual. 18s. | 30s. 21s. |
| Desert Spoons or Forks per doz. | " 27s. " 27s. | 22s. 16s. |
| Table Spoons or Forks per doz. | " 42s. " 36s. | 70s. 51s. |

CELEBRATED TABLE CUTLERY.

Best Quality only.

| BLADES SECURED TO HANDLES. | Table Knives. | Cheese Knives. | Carvers. |
|------------------------------------|---------------|----------------|----------|
| 3½-in. Balance White per doz. | 15s. | 12s. 6d. | 6s. 6d. |
| 4-in. Strong | 20s. | 15s. 0d. | 7s. 6d. |
| 4-in. Round Handles | 25s. | 18s. 0d. | 9s. 0d. |
| Fine White Silver Ferules | 40s. | 30s. 0d. | 13s. 0d. |

All Manufactured at MAPPIN & WEBB'S Winsley Street and Sheffield Factories.

Illustrated Catalogues post free.

WEST-END SHOW ROOMS, 76, 77, AND 78 OXFORD STREET.

CITY WAREHOUSE, 71 AND 73 CORNHILL.

MAPPIN & WEBB.

THE TEA ESTABLISHMENT, 4 and 5 King William Street, City.—This Establishment will be CLOSED every Evening at SEVEN o'clock, instead of Eight as heretofore. RIDGWAY & CO.'S TEAS and COFFEES continue to maintain the superiority of quality at their respective prices, which will be put in notice in the year 1869. Lists of Prices sent post free on application.

RIDGWAY & CO., the Tea Establishment, 4 and 5 King William Street, City.

MESSRS. H. B. FEARON & SON, Wine and Spirit Merchants, have REMOVED from their old Premises at 94 Holborn Hill, where they have carried on Business for upwards of Seventy years, to NEW and EXTENSIVE PREMISES at the Western end of the HOLBORN VIADUCT. Every kind of Wine, Spirit, and Liqueur in Stock. Price Lists sent post free on application. Messrs. FEARON'S West-End House remains at 10 New Bond Street.

ALLSOPP'S PALE and BURTON ALES.—These ALES are now being supplied in the finest condition, in Bottles and in Casks, by FINDLATER, MACKIE & CO., 33 Wellington Street, Strand, W.C.

SHERRIES.—T. O. LAZENBY, 90, 92 Wigmore Street, London, W., Wine Merchant.

No. 1.—Good Ordinary Sherry (Dry or rich) 21s.
No. 2.—Sound Dinner Sherry (Dry or rich) 36s.
No. 3.—Fine Dessert Sherry (Dry or rich) 48s.

E. LAZENBY & SON'S PICKLES, SAUCES, and CONDIMENTS.—E. LAZENBY & SON, Sole Proprietors of the celebrated Receipts, and Manufacturers of the Pickles, Sauces, and Condiments, so long and favourably distinguished by their Name, are compelled to CAUTION the Public against the inferior Preparations which are put up and labelled in close imitation of their Goods, with a view to mislead the Public. 90, 92 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square (late 6 Edwards Street, Fortman Square), and 18 Trinity Street, London, S.E.

HARVEY'S SAUCE.—Caution.—The Admirers of this celebrated Sauce are particularly requested to observe that each Bottle, prepared by E. LAZENBY & SON, bears the Label used so many years, signed "Elizabeth Lazenby."

SAUCE—LEA & PERRINS. The "WORCESTERSHIRE," pronounced by Connoisseurs "The only Good Sauce," improves the Appetite, and aids Digestion. Unrivalled for Piquancy and Flavour. Ask for "LEA & PERRINS' SAUCE." Beware of Imitations, and see the Names of LEA & PERRINS on all Bottles and Labels. Agents, CROSBY & BLACKWELL, London, and Sold by all Dealers in Sauces throughout the World.

LIEBIG COMPANY'S EXTRACT OF MEAT.

AMSTERDAM EXHIBITION, 1869, FIRST PRIZE; being above the Gold Medal. Supplied to the British, French, Prussian, Russian, Italian, Dutch, and other Governments. One Pint of fine flavoured BEEF-TEA at 2d. Most convenient and economical "Stock." CAUTION.—Only sort warranted genuine by the Inventor, Baron LIEBIG, whose Signature is on every genuine Jar. Ask for "Liebig Company's Extract," and not for Liebig's Extract of Meat.

FIELDS' PURE "SPERMACE" SOAP, 8d. and 1s. per Tablet, most delicately perfumed. This beautiful Article is a combination of the purest Soap with Spermace, the soothing and emollient action of which is well known, and is especially recommended for Children and Invalids. See Name on each Tablet and Label. Wholesale—36, UPPER MARSH, LAMBETH, S.E.

PARR'S LIFE PILLS clear from the Body all Hurtful Impurities. The mild, pleasant Action, and powerful Curative Properties of this PURE HERBAL MEDICINE recommend it as the most useful Remedy for the restoration of sound Bodily Health and Mental Vigour.

INDIGESTION REMOVED.—MORSON'S PEPSINE WINE, POWDER, LOZENGES, and GLOBULES are the successful and popular Remedies stated by the Medical Profession to be the best for Indigestion. Sold in Bottles and Boxes from 2s., with full Directions, by THOMAS MORSON & SON, 21, 23, and 124 Southampton Row, Russell Square, London, and by all Pharmaceutical Chemists.

DINNEFORD'S PURE FLUID MAGNESIA, the best Remedy for Acidity of the Stomach, Heartburn, Headache, Gout, and Indigestion. At 172 New Bond Street, London; and of all Chemists.

DR. DE JONGH'S

(Knight of the Order of Leopold of Belgium)

LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL, Prescribed as the safest, speediest, and most effectual remedy for CONSUMPTION, CHRONIC BRONCHITIS, ASTHMA, COUGHS, RHEUMATISM, GENERAL DEBILITY, DISEASES OF THE SKIN, RICKETS, INFANTILE WASTING, AND ALL SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS.

Universally recognised by the highest Medical Authorities to be

THE ONLY COD LIVER OIL

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- FRA DIETOLIO.
- RIGOLETTO.
- ZAMPA.
- THE GRAND DUCHESS.
- IL BARBIERE DI SIVIGLIA.
- SONNAMBULA.
- UN BALLO IN MASCHERA.
- LA TRAVIATA.
- MARTHA.
- WILLIAM TELL.
- CROWN DIAMONDS.
- MASANIELLO.
- LE DOMINO NOIR.

SATURDAY
REVIEW



BOOSEY & CO., HOLLES STREET, LONDON.

Printed by GEORGE ANDREW SPOTTISWOODE, at No. 5 New-street Square, in the Parish of St. Bride, in the City of London; and Published by DAVID JONES, at the Office, No. 39 Southampton Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Paul, Covent Garden, in the County of Middlesex.—Saturday, December 18, 1869.